SOLI DEO GLORIA;
A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY AND PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NORWEGIAN LUTHERANS IN THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT,
1860-1960

by

EINAR OSCAR JOHNSON

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We have carefully read the thesis entitled SOLI DEO GLORIA: A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY AND PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NORWEGIAN LUTHERANS IN THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT, 1860-1960 submitted by Einar Oscar Johnson in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the thesis.

Mr. Johnson's analytical development of the underlying philosophy and problems of Norwegian Lutheran higher education in the United States has been accomplished and presented in a scholarly fashion.

Liberal use has been made of original sources and the over-all study is well documented.

The study brings together a considerable quantity of historical data not before assembled and the result constitutes a worthy contribution by Mr. Johnson.

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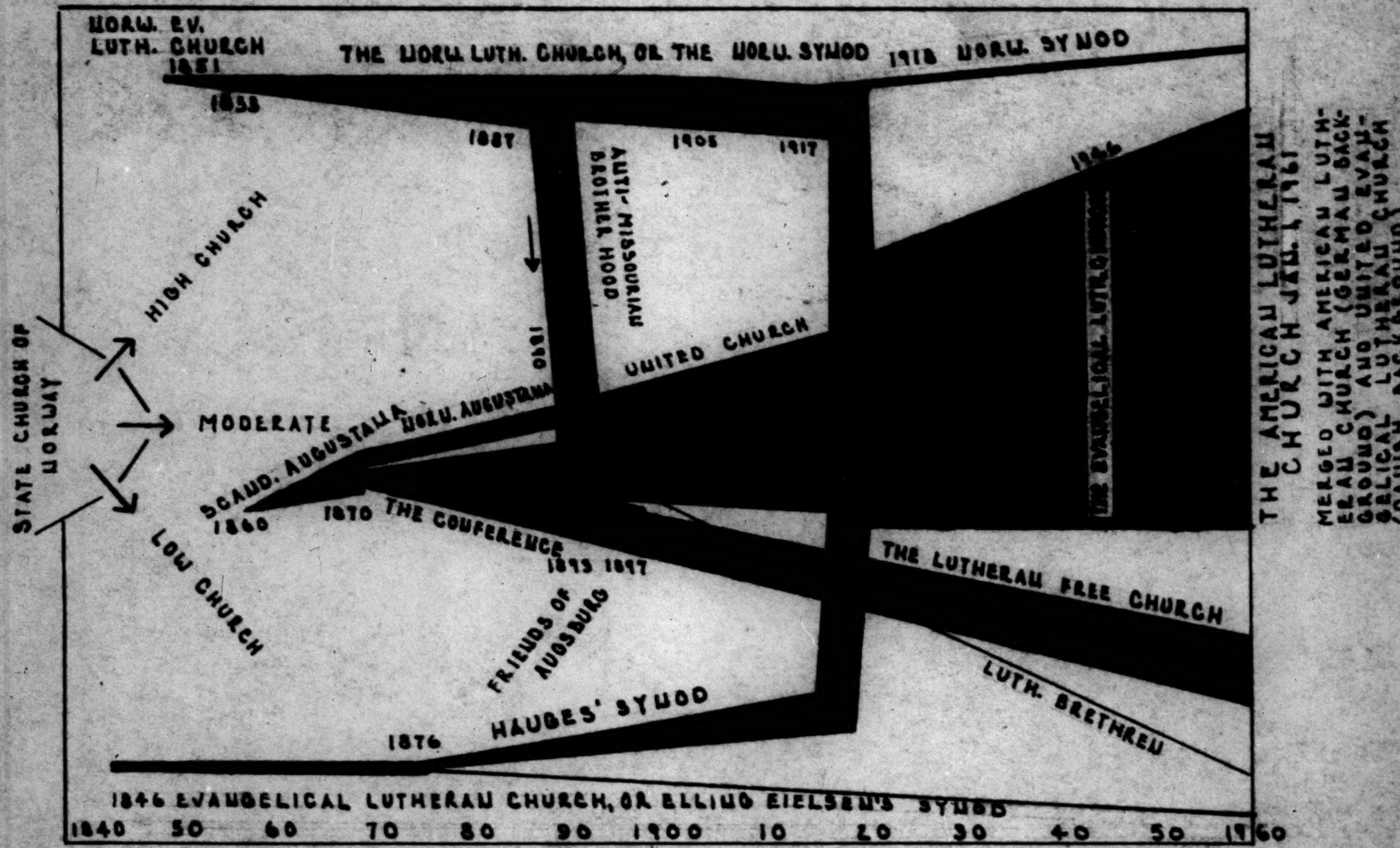
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THE NORW. LUTH. CHURCH, OR THE NORW. SYNOD
1918 NORW. SYNOD
1887
ANTI-MISSOURIAN BROTHER HOOD
1890
1905
1917
UNITED CHURCH
SCAND. AUGUSTANA
NORW. AUGUSTANA
1860
1870 THE CONFERENCE
1893 1897
FRIENDS OF AUGSBURG
1876
HAUGES' SYNOD
1846 EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, OR ELLING EIELSEN'S SYNOD
1946
THE EVANGELICAL LUTH. C
THE LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH
LUTH. BRETHREN
THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH JAN. 1, 1961
MERGED WITH AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (GERMAN BACKGROUND) AND UNITED EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (DANISH BACKGROUND)
1840
50
60
70
80
90
1900
10
20
30
40
50
1960

FIGURE 1

NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN SYNODS IN AMERICA

SOLI DEO GLORIA;

A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY AND PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NORWEGIAN LUTHERANS IN THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT,

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The year 1960 witnessed the close of the first hundred years of higher education among Norwegian Lutherans in America. Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota celebrated one hundred years of history in that year. Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, the oldest four-year college in continuous existence, made plans for its centennial year in 1961.

The year 1960 held great significance also for the Lutheran Church in America. On April 22, 1960, Lutherans of three national backgrounds came together in the Constituting Convention of The American Lutheran Church. Members of the new church body, who numbered almost two and a half million, came from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Norwegian background), the American Lutheran Church (German background), and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish background). This marked the first time in the twentieth century that such a merger took place. The new group, thus constituted, became the third largest group of Lutherans in America.

Also engaged in negotiations with the merging church bodies was another Norwegian Lutheran group, the Lutheran Free Church. This body, numbering about 75,000 members, supported Augsburg College in Minneapolis, Minnesota, founded in 1869. Two previous referendums of the church members have resulted in decisions against merger. A third referendum will be taken in 1961.

The American Lutheran Church, which officially began its existence on January 1, 1961, supported nine senior colleges, five from the former Evangelical Lutheran Church, three from the former American Lutheran Church, and one from the former United Evangelical Lutheran Church. In addition, the merged church body planned to inaugurate a tenth four-year college in Thousand Oaks, California, in September, 1961. The name given to this institution was California Lutheran College. A favorable merger vote by the Lutheran Free Church in 1961 would add an eleventh senior college to this roster.

The year 1960 represented, therefore, an end and a beginning. This study has investigated the problems and philosophy of higher education within an important segment of America's Lutherans, those of Norwegian background. That they have stressed the importance of higher education was evident. The colleges included in this investigation were:

Luther College, Decorah, Iowa
Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota
St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota
Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
Pacific Lutheran University, Parkland, Washington
Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Problem

The name of the thesis is "*Soli Deo Gloria*; A Study of the Philosophy and Problems of Higher Education among Norwegian Lutherans in the American Environment, 1860-1960." *Soli Deo Gloria* ("To God Alone the Glory") was chosen as part of the title because, apart from being the motto of two of the six colleges examined,[1] it formed the basis for the philosophy of education adhered to by all the colleges from their founding. The American environment was included in the title because it was the most significant factor in the changes which came about. The present-day Norwegian Lutheran colleges emerged from a blending of cultural heritage and the dynamics of the society in which they developed.

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[1] This was the motto of Luther College and Concordia College.

Purpose of the study. The thesis studied the transfer of a Northern European educational system to American soil and the problems encountered in adjusting and adapting to the changing culture of the New World. In addition, the study examined the uniqueness of Norwegian Lutheran higher education and the contributions it made to the American scene, particularly in the Midwest.

The investigation proposed to delineate the varying emphases, educational as well as theological, within the Norwegian Lutheran Church. In so doing, however, it attempted to outline the cohesive force which tended to keep Norwegian Lutherans a distinct group, although they had to give ground to the inroads of Americanization.

Need for the study. Several factors were found which pointed to the need for a study of higher education among Norwegian Lutherans. Among these could be included the need for an investigation which would include all the senior colleges and would be conducted along historical and philosophical lines. A recent doctoral dissertation on control of higher education in the Lutheran Church in America suggested, among its recommendations, that "the history, philosophy, and curriculum of Lutheran higher education in America remains to be written in detail."[2]

Second, there was an indication that a study of the varying emphases within the Norwegian Lutheran Church would prove profitable. To arrive at a conclusion regarding a philosophy of education, it was necessary to present conflicting views.

Third, it was deemed desirable to trace the pattern of an immigrant social group as it adapted itself to the American culture over a period of several generations. A study of a particular people's problems in education might further understanding of the adjustment of other immigrant peoples in the American environment.

Fourth, the need to study the role of religion in higher education, in this case a group of conservative church colleges, seemed justified. A parallel requisite lay in comparing these church colleges with each other along such lines as objectives, curriculum development, and philosophy.

Fifth, an opportunity was sought to make available to the English-reading public some statements on higher education as seen by European-trained educators in the Midwest.

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[2] John K. Rystrom, "The Control and Support of Higher Education in the Lutheran Church in America," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1955), p. 443.

Sixth, as a corollary opportunity, a way was sought to present the evaluations a foreign group gave to American institutions such as the public schools and both public and private colleges.

Seventh, there were indications of a need to point to the contributions of Norwegian Lutherans as their identity as a separate national group was to be lost in a larger merged group.

Limitations of the study. The investigation was limited to the four-year accredited liberal arts colleges which have survived among Norwegian Lutherans in the United States. The study placed special emphasis on the origins and contrasting views of the two earliest institutions. The two colleges, Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, and Augsburg College in Minneapolis, Minnesota, furnished contrasts which reflected two widely divergent views of Christian higher education. Another institution, St. Olaf College in Northfield, provided a third basis for comparison.

The present investigation did not consider the theological seminaries, the academies, or the junior colleges of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, except insofar as they related to the problems of the four-year colleges. No attempt was made to present theological controversies in detail. Such controversies were examined only as they related to educational institutions.

Some very small dissenting groups among the Norwegian Lutherans, representing the extremes of high and low church tendencies, have established educational institutions. One of these, Bethany Lutheran College and Theological Seminary, is located in Mankato, Minnesota. Its support has come from a right-wing group, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. The other institution, the Lutheran Brethren Bible College and Seminary in Fergus Falls, Minnesota, received its support from a low-church group, the Lutheran Brethren. These two institutions, not accredited as four-year colleges, have been omitted from this study.

No attempt has been made in this study to present a chronological history of each of the six colleges discussed. Brief histories of the schools have, however, been included in the appendix.

Definition of Terms

The Lutheran Church in America. "The Lutheran Church in America," as used in this study, referred to all Lutheran groups presently found in America, comprised of many differing national origins.

The Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. The phrase, the "Norwegian Lutheran Church in America," referred generically to all Lutherans of Norwegian background, regardless of their particular church membership.

Synod. The term "Synod" was used in this investigation to mean an association of congregations uniting for the confession of their fellowship in the faith and cooperation in the various activities of the church. Synods differed widely in their organization and administration but were understood by themselves and by those outside of them as a unit.

Higher education. For the purposes of this study, "higher education" has been defined as that learning obtained at a four-year senior college. It should be pointed out that, in the early history of the Norwegian institutions, the name "college" had no corresponding Norwegian term and hence was often used very loosely to indicate any education beyond the grammar school. In the first years of the earlier institutions, the line of demarcation between the "academy" and the "college" was often indistinct.

Academy. An "academy" referred to a preparatory institution, owned by private or church interests, which offered a course beyond the grammar school designed to lead to college, or to provide terminal education. The course offerings corresponded in large measure to those found in the public high schools of the era.

Common school. By the term "common school" was indicated the publicly supported elementary schools in America. The writings and debate among Norwegian Lutherans over this institution used the term "common school" almost exclusively.

Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

As Lutheran education can be understood only through the life and work of Martin Luther, its founder, the study began by examining Luther's contribution to educational thought. Hence Chapter II dealt with an examination of Luther's pedagogical works and educational system. To set the stage for the understanding of those Norwegians who emigrated to America, Chapter III presented a survey of political, social, religious and educational developments in nineteenth-century Norway. Chapter IV introduced the pioneer church and its Norwegian leaders transplanted to the New World. The earliest church leaders represented among them the varying approaches in Lutheran theology and education found in the Norway from which they came. The chapter also concerned itself with the first attempts to found schools of higher education among the immigrants.

The following chapter dealt with the attitudes of the high-church wing of the Norwegian Lutheran group and its quarrels with low-church and lay people over the American issues of slavery and the common school.

Chapter V also reports the influence of the Norwegian-American press on public issues of the day.

Chapter VI focuses attention upon Luther College, the first institution founded by the high-church group of Norwegian-Americans. It explores the problems of the college's founders in building an institution of higher education in America upon the principles of the European "Latin School."

The next section of the thesis compares the school founded by exponents of another viewpoint with Luther College. Augsburg Seminary, planned as a departure from the accepted "Latin School," outlined objectives and a course of study under the significant title of "Greek School." A third and more American school of the Norwegian Lutherans, St. Olaf College, made its appearance as an institution differing greatly in objectives and outlook from the first two schools. A short survey of the other three colleges of the Norwegian Lutheran Church closes Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII outlines the problems of the schools involved in the changes that came about under American environmental influence. It recounts the drama of the conversion from one-purpose Norwegian church institutions to multi-purpose Christian liberal arts colleges in America.

Following this account of the transformation of Norwegian colleges, Chapter IX presents the Lutheran approaches to a philosophy of higher education. After examining various aspects of college educational patterns, it attempts a definition of points of agreement among Norwegian Lutherans.

The concluding chapter summarizes the findings, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for possible future investigations.

Methods of Procedure and Sources of Data

Methods of procedure. The historical and comparative methods were followed in this investigation.[3] The historical documentation was needed in tracing the origins of Lutheran educational philosophy and its implementation in Norway and America since the time of Martin Luther. By reporting the historical development of the changes which came about, the impact of the American environment on Lutheran educational philosophy was analyzed.

The comparative method was utilized in two ways. The first compared the two different views of educational philosophy represented by Luther College and Augsburg

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[3] Carter V. Good, *Introduction to Educational Research* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, [1959]), pp. 115-158 *et passim*.

College. Further comparisons of objectives were made using the several later colleges, especially St. Olaf.

Secondly, the aims, curricula, and other aspects of the present-day educational institutions were compared in order to analyze trends in higher education. In this process, the selection of pertinent historical evidence and the interpretation of data with the help of comparisons of the present situations pointed toward a synthesis of a philosophy of Lutheran higher education.

Sources of data. The primary and most rewarding sources for this investigation were the several archival collections of Norwegian-Americana in the Midwest. The archives of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul, the Norwegian-American Historical Association in Northfield, Minnesota, the library of Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, the archives of Augsburg College in the George Sverdrup Memorial Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the archives of Luther College in the U. V. Koren Memorial Library in Decorah, Iowa, all proved invaluable repositories of primary source materials. Letters,unpublished manuscripts, and mementos of the founders of the colleges were found there. An examination of the documents dealing with the affairs of the colleges, protocol, Presidents' reports, minutes of board meetings, meetings of students' organizations and faculty senate meetings yielded much excellent material. Copies of college catalogs, from the earliest to the present day, provided much information on aims and curriculum. Articles of incorporation of the several colleges were found in the archives as well.

Several biographical works and collected writings aided in obtaining source materials. The autobiographical writings of Rasmus B. Anderson, August Weenaas, O. Paulson, Laur. Larsen, and N. N. Rønning indicated the thought of the time. The collected works of U. V. Koren and of Georg Sverdrup, as well as the private library of Koren, preserved at the Norwegian-American Historical Museum in Decorah, Iowa, also gave valuable contemporary information. Biographies of leaders such as Laur. Larsen, Georg Sverdrup and C. K. Preus aided in the study.

There existed two series of studies in Norwegian-Americana. One was Symra, an annual for Norwegians on both sides of the ocean, published in Norwegian between 1905 and 1914. It contained valuable autobiographical materials by the early pioneers, sketches of Norwegian-American leaders, and accounts of the educational institutions.

Studies and Records, published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association from 1926 to the present, contained articles and essays on many phases of Norse-American life, not least in the realm of education.

The newspapers of the period under survey were examined. Norwegian-American secular newspapers, on file in the Koren Library at Luther College, included Emigranten (1852-1886), Nordlyset (1847-1850) and Skandinaven (1866-1940).

Church organs, generally issued as periodicals, reported many of the issues of the day. The Norwegian Synod's organ, Maanedstidende for den Norsk-Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika (1851-1853), or Kirkelig Maanedstidende (1855-1873), changed its name in 1873 to Evangelisk-Luthersk Kirketidende. Between 1917 and 1956 it was merged with Lutheraneren (1876). A parallel church organ in English, the Lutheran Herald, was published from 1906 to 1960. Folkebladet (1878-1907) and Kvartal-skrift (1875-1881) were published by the professors at Augsburg Seminary. All of these periodicals proved to have considerable value for this investigation.

The various reports of the church meetings, usually in Norwegian ("Beretning om Synodemøde...," or "Beretning om Hauges Synodes Møde...," and so forth), included much material pertinent to this study. Of special interest were the reports of the Board of Christian Education of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church contained in the Annual Reports from 1917 on, and similar reports to the Lutheran Free Church from 1897 to the present.

General histories of the activities of Norwegians in America were consulted. O. M. Norlie published several works, of which History of the Norwegian People in America, Who's Who Among Norwegian Pastors, School Calendar have been the most useful. Theodore Blegen's masterful work on Norwegian Migration to America gave information on all phases of immigrant life. Parts of each of the two volumes contributed to an understanding of Norwegian Lutheran education in America. Knut Gjerset's History of the Norwegian People and Bryn Hovde's The Scandinavian Countries assisted in giving Norwegian background.

The Philadelphia edition of the Works of Martin Luther was used in providing Luther's philosophy of education. G. M. Bruce's Luther as an Educator and F. V. N. Painter's Luther on Education were consulted also.

Several church histories gave background material. Some of the more important of these were E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold's The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans, J. Magnus Rohne's Norwegian-American Lutheranism Up to 1872, J. A. Bergh's Den Norsk Lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika, H. G. Heggtveidt's Kirkehistorie, and Festskrift, Den Norske Synodes Jubilaeum, edited by H. Halvorsen.

Histories of some of the colleges were available. On Luther College was Gisle Bothne's *Det Norske Luther College, 1861-1897*. A second work, *Luther College Through Sixty Years*, was compiled by the faculty of Luther College in 1922. To be published in time for the college's centennial in 1961 was a third history, by David T. Nelson. The writer had access to the unpublished manuscript of this work. The most significant history of Augsburg College was that by Andreas Helland, *Augsburg Seminar Gjennem Femti Aar*. The most comprehensive history of St. Olaf College was written by William C. Benson and was entitled *High On Manitou*. This work was the only published history of a Norwegian Lutheran college which dealt with events after 1921.

Theses written in the general area of Lutheranism among Norwegians in America were useful. Among these were Gerhard Belgum's "The Old Norwegian Synod in America, 1853-1890," Walter Schnackenberg's on "The Development of Norwegian Lutheran Schools in the Pacific Northwest from 1890 to 1920," and John Rystrom's on "Control and Support of Higher Education in the Lutheran Church in America" (1955), a dissertation covering all the Lutheran colleges in the country. Material pertinent to some of the colleges in this study was contained in each of these.

A comprehensive survey of higher education by the United Lutheran Church in America, conducted in 1929, made recommendations which had value for other Lutheran bodies. The American Lutheran Conference, an association formed in 1930 of several synods, including some Norwegian groups, appointed a Commission on Higher Education. It published two studies, in 1933 and 1935, which made proposals for changing the program of Lutheran schools in order to adjust to the effects of the economic depression then facing the colleges. An outgrowth of this commission was the Lutheran Faculties Conference, which has met annually and has published papers on various themes concerning higher education. The National Lutheran Educational Conference, organized in 1910, has published frequent reports of its activities and meetings.

Other sources of material were statistical reports of the Lutheran colleges to the Office of Education, Washington, D. C., and reports by the Office of Education. General works on the philosophy of education, particularly the two yearbooks by the National Society for the Study of Education (XLI and LIV), proved useful.

Additional information was obtained through letters and conferences with educators and churchmen, both in Norway and in America, visits to each of the colleges studied, discussions with presidents of the

Norwegian Lutheran colleges, speeches, interviews with pioneers and with the Executive Secretaries of the Board of Christian Education of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The writer was graduated from one of the schools in this study, Concordia College, and has served in teaching and administrative positions at two others, Luther College and Augsburg College.

CHAPTER II

MARTIN LUTHER AND EDUCATION

The consensus of historical judgment gave Martin Luther (1483-1546) a high place as a religious, social, and political reformer. Many of those who acknowledged his great contributions credited his life and work as marking the beginning of a new era in the world's history.

Not so well known nor fully understood were his contributions to the field of education. Here he was generally regarded as overshadowed by some of his contemporaries and successors, among these such men as Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Sturm.[1] Few would credit Luther with being the real source for the educational theory and for the practical plan which would not only transform the educational system of his native Germany but would also make an impact throughout the Western world. Fewer still would credit one of his educational writings as "the most important educational treatise ever written."[2]

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[1] Typical of this attitude toward Luther was the omission of his name from the facade of a building inscribed to the honor of modern educators at Teachers' College, Columbia University. The inscription begins with Melanchthon and Sturm.

Examination of Luther's educational writings indicated that he was actively engaged in promoting the cause of education and that he himself had a comprehensive and definite plan for the education of all for service to the Church and to the state.

Much of what he wrote was as a reaction to what he regarded as the corruption and abuses of education of the day. The alternatives he offered to existing practices and the suggestions he made regarding different educational emphases helped to give a clearer picture of his own educational thought and served as a guide for present day Lutheran educational institutions.

Purposes of Education

Luther the theologian must be understood in order to discern his comprehensive views on education. The primary thesis throughout all his writings was that education could not be separated from religion. Since religion was universal and penetrated every field and function of man's life, it followed that a Christian education was of paramount importance. In modern terminology

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[2] F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1889), p. 67.

Luther would advocate educating "the whole child;" but to him the most real, the most significant aspect of man's nature was his spiritual need. The central source of authority for revealing truth was the Bible, and within the Bible the most Christocentric books had the highest authority.[3] Throughout Luther's voluminous writing the Scriptures were cited for his surprisingly modern observations on the needs and drives of the young, the curriculum to be offered, the ends and aims of education from elementary to university levels.

The purposes of education, as Luther saw them, were two-fold: to promote the welfare of the Church and to supply the needs of the state. His pedagogical writings constantly alluded to this dual purpose. Indeed, one of his chief grounds for criticism of the Roman Catholic Church was that it educated only for the service of the Church. In his "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools" (1524), Luther stated:

> Hitherto the Papists have taken no interest in civil government, and have conducted the schools so entirely in the interests of the priesthood, that it has become a matter of reproach for a learned man to marry, and he

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[3] Cf. Luther, "Preface to the New Testament," Works (Philadelphia edition)(Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), VI, 443-444. Luther named the Gospel of John, St. Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and St. Peter's First Epistle as "the true kernel and marrow of all the books." These books remained the source and inspiration for this thought in all areas, including educational philosophy.

> has been forced to hear remarks like this: "Behold, he has become a man of the world, and cares nothing for the clerical state," just as if the priestly order were alone acceptable to God, and the secular classes, as they are called, belonged to Satan, and were unchristian.[4]

Luther regarded civil government as a divine institution that must be maintained by education. In referring to secular government he wrote:

> Since then it is certain that civil government is a divine ordinance, an office and institution necessary for men in the present life, it is easy to see that God does not design that it should perish, but that it should continue for the protection of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked,... But who will maintain it except us men to whom God has committed it? Wild animals will not do it, wood and stone will not; but what men can maintain it? Certainly not those who rule by club-law alone, as many now think. For where club-law alone prevails, will surely be found at last a brutal condition of society, the strong tyrannizing over the weak....In a word, not club-law but justice, not force but wisdom and reason, must govern among the wicked as well as among the good.
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> Accordingly, since our government in the German states is based on the imperial law of Rome, which embodies the wisdom and reason of our government, it follows that such a government can not be maintained, unless these laws are upheld. Now who will uphold them? Club-law and force will not do it; it must be done by means of knowledge and books; men must learn and understand the law and wisdom of our empire.[5]

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[4] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools," translated by Painter, op. cit., p. 195.

[5] Luther, "Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School," translated by Painter, op. cit., pp. 244-245.

Luther's defense of this second purpose of education showed his agreement with the maxim in modern education: "The welfare of the state depends upon the intelligence and virtue of its citizens." Indeed, it was the suggestion that education had merit in itself and should serve other purposes than that of the Church alone, that was so fundamental to Luther's educational concept. This was why Luther wrote to the city officials of his day in such strong terms urging them to make sure that the education of the young should not be neglected.

> Even if there were no soul,...and men did not need schools and the languages for the sake of Christianity and the Scriptures, still, for the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, this consideration is of itself sufficient, namely, that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well-trained men and women. Now such men are to come from boys, and such women from girls; hence it is necessary that boys and girls be properly taught and brought up. As I have before said, the ordinary man is not qualified for this task, and can not, and will not do it. Princes and lords ought to do it; but they spend their time in pleasure-driving, drinking, and folly, and are burdened with the weighty duties of the cellar, kitchen and bed-chamber. And though some would be glad to do it, they must stand in fear of the rest, lest they be taken for fools or heretics. Therefore, honored members of the city councils, this work must remain in your hands; you have more time and better opportunity for it than princes and lords.[6]

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[6] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen...," in Painter, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

Luther's writing contained frequent allusions to education, and the training of the young was ever uppermost in his mind. Luther's specific works on education, as well as his sermons, Catechisms, Table Talk and translations of the Bible, all made their impact educationally upon his contemporaries, both at home and throughout the Western World.

Luther's principle of liberty of conscience necessitated his advocating universal education. Universal education could be achieved only through cooperation with the state even to the extent of compulsion on the part of the state. Essential to all education must be the Christian approach--"to see all things through the eyes of Christ"--but the schools were to make good citizens as well as religious men. "He set up as the noble ideal of education a Christian man, filled through instruction and discipline to discharge the duties of every relation of life."[7]

Pedagogical Works

Nearly all Luther wrote had some bearing upon education, so important did he regard the training of the young. Only three of his writings dealt exclusively with education, but it is quite necessary to survey all that he produced in order to have a fuller understanding of the complete plan. His advocacy of education was ardent and his ideas were progressive.

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[7] Painter, op. cit., p. 167.

> Luther enunciated the most progressive ideas on education of all the German Protestant reformers....That his ideas could be but partially carried out is not surprising. There were but few among his followers who could understand such progressive proposals, they were entirely too advanced for the time, there was no body of vernacular teachers or means to prepare them, the importance of such training was not understood, and the religious wars which followed made such educational advantages impossible, for a long time to come.[8]

In the eyes of many scholars the chief accomplishment of Luther was his masterful translation of the Bible into the vernacular. The significance of this achievement was incalculable, as Bruce pointed out.

> By this great achievement he gave to his people, and indirectly to other peoples, the Word of God in a popular, readable German language, and laid the foundation for religious, intellectual, social, linguistic, and literary activities, the immediate and remote consequences and significance of which are of such a nature and scope that they defy both attempts at tracing and at limitation.[9]

For the purposes of this study, however, it was perhaps sufficient to point to the meticulous and patient way Luther went about choosing every word and phrase. The translation was constantly revised in order that it be true and faithful to the original, and in order that it should be in the idiom of the people. The achievement went far to refute those who have charged that "Luther always felt that the Latin school was the prime educational agency for promoting the Reformation in Germany."[10] Further, the very methods he used to find the correct expressions--from the people themselves--revealed a great understanding of human nature. Luther was adept at perceiving how people thought and how they reacted.

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[8] Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), p. 312.

[9] Gustav M. Bruce, Luther As an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 132.

For more than four hundred years the two catechisms that Luther wrote have served as the chief means of religious instruction for Lutheran young people. This was not only because Lutherans naturally turned to Luther as the primary source for their religious concepts, but also because the simple, concise, clear manner in which the *Small Catechism* was written made it the most masterful work of its kind.

The three main parts of the Catechism: that is, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, Luther referred to as the "Little Bible." This much Luther insisted must be memorized word for word even before explanation and understanding could be possible.

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[10] R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Education* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 270.

Educationally speaking, however, the Small Catechism has been abused as much as it has been used. Luther planned that the Catechism would be utilized by pastors, teachers and parents as a guide for the religious instruction of the children and not as a textbook to be placed in the hands of the children. But the explanations offered by Luther were so clearly and aptly stated that it was little wonder that later generations of teachers tended to copy Luther's exact wording rather than offer their own. So literally have the lessons and explanations been taken that generally confirmands have memorized Luther's questions and answers in addition to the Bible quotations and the Creed that Luther intended should be memorized.[11]

That Luther understood young people and knew well some of the "modern" techniques of teaching was illustrated by his introductions and comments on the Small and Large Catechisms. They contained precise, illuminating directives as to how to teach, and an astute comprehension of the laws of learning. Some of Luther's statements in this regard will be discussed in a later part of the chapter.

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[11] See the interesting discussion of Luther's idea of catechetical instruction in Bruce, op. cit., pp. 177-182.

A key to Luther's educational thought and a chief clue to understanding his influence were to be found in the three selections written expressly as appeals on behalf of Christian schools. Two of these, "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools" (1524) and "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School" (1530), dealt with educational matters only; the third, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate" (1520), treated of education as it related to other practices within the Church.

"An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate" was written only three years after the nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses on the Wittenberg Cathedral. The tract, as Bruce said, "produced a mighty stir,"[12] and was printed in edition after edition at Wittenberg as well as being reprinted elsewhere.

In twenty-eight sections Luther outlined the abuses of the Church of Rome and the deplorable social, moral, intellectual and religious conditions of Germany. Recommendations for the correction of the abuses and the improvement of the people were spelled out in detail.

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[12] Bruce, _op_. _cit_., p. 153.

Of application to this study was section twenty-five, which dealt with proposals for reform at the universities. Luther wrote:

> The universities also need a good, thorough reformation--I must say it no matter whom it vexes--for everything which the papacy has instituted and ordered is directed only towards the increasing of sin and error. What else are the universities, if their present condition remains unchanged, that as the book of Maccabees says, "Gymnasia Epheborum et Graecae gloriae," in which loose living prevails, the Holy Scriptures and the Christian faith are little taught, and the blind, heathen master Aristotle rules alone, even more than Christ. In this regard my advice would be that Aristotle's Physics, Metaphysics, On the Soul, Ethics, which have hitherto been thought his best books, should be altogether discarded, together with all the rest of his books which boast of treating the things of nature, although nothing can be learned from them either of the things of nature or the things of the Spirit. Moreover no one has so far understood his meaning, and many souls have been burdened with profitless labor and study, at the cost of much precious time. I venture to say that any potter has more knowledge of nature than is written in these books. It grieves me to the heart that this damned, conceited, rascally heathen has with his false words deluded and made fools of so many of the best Christians. God has sent him as a plague upon us for our sins.[13]

Having denounced the abuses at the universities and dethroned Aristotle, Luther proceeded with suggestions as to proper emphasis and a more adequate program of study. The plan he suggested became a model for the

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[13] Luther, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate," Works, II, p. 146.

Lutheran universities and, indirectly, for Lutheran institutions of higher learning everywhere.

The "Open Letter" contained a very strong suggestion that standards at the universities had not been very high. Luther admonished that

> ...we should not send everybody there, as we do when all we ask is numbers, and everyone wishes to have a doctor's degree; but we should send only the best qualified students, who have previously been well trained in the lower schools. A prince or city council ought to see to this, and permit only the well qualified to be sent.[14]

Late in 1523 or possibly in January, 1524, Luther wrote a "letter" to the councilmen of the German cities. This tract, "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools" ("An die Rathherren aller Städte Deutsches Lands dass sie Christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen"), was, as Bruce pointed out, "primarily occasioned by the conditions that prevailed in Germany at the time with respect to education."[15] Since the churches of the Reformation were not yet strong enough to support schools, Luther appealed to city government to establish and to maintain educational institutions. The necessity of securing the cooperation of civil authorities understandably played a role in his making a strong case for educating youth for the purpose of civil duties as well as for the ministry.

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[14] Ibid., p. 152.

[15] Bruce, op. cit., p. 156.

Another reason for the urgent plea for education was the considerable depreciation of letters preached by the mystics and enthusiasts, who emphasized the spirit and opposed learning. Leaders of this point of view among Luther's contemporaries, Münzer and Carlstadt for example, used as their slogan "Gelehrte sind Verkehrte," "the learned are perverse or wrongheaded." They exerted their influence to close schools. Luther reacted violently to this negative point of view.

> Do not be disturbed by the fears which you express that our theology will make us Germans more barbarous in letters than ever we have been; some people often have their fears when there is nothing to fear. I am persuaded that without knowledge of literature, pure theology cannot at all endure, just as heretofore when letters have declined and lain prostrate theology, too, has wretchedly fallen and lain prostrate.[16]

The "Letter to the Councilmen" began with a brief survey of conditions in Germany as a background for the strong plea that followed:

> Therefore I beg you all, in the name of God and of our neglected youth, not to think of this subject lightly, as many do who see not what the prince of this world intends. For the right instruction of youth is a matter in which

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[16] Preserved Smith, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1913), II, 176.

> Christ and all the world are concerned. Thereby are we all aided. And consider that great Christian zeal is needed to overcome the silent, secret, and artful machinations of the devil. If we must annually expend large sums on muskets, roads, bridges, dams, and the like, in order that the city may have temporal peace and comfort, why should we not apply as much to our poor, neglected youth, in order that we may have a skillful schoolmaster or two?[17]

Luther then stated in concise and orderly fashion his reasons why it was the duty of councilmen to support education.

> [1] There is one consideration that should move every citizen, with devout gratitude to God, to contribute a part of his means to the support of schools--the consideration that if divine grace had not released him from exactions and robbery, he would still have to give large sums of money for indulgences, masses, vigils, endowments, anniversaries, mendicant friars, brotherhoods, and other similar impositions.

> [2] ...we should not, as St. Paul says, receive the grace of God in vain, and neglect the present favorable time. For Almighty God has truly granted us Germans a gracious visitation, and favored us with a golden opportunity. We now have excellent and learned young men, adorned with every science and art, who, if they were employed, could be of great service as teachers. Is it not well known that a boy can now be so instructed in three years, that at the age of fifteen or eighteen he knows more than all the universities and convents have known heretofore? Twenty, forty years, it has been necessary to study, and yet one has learned neither Latin nor German! I say nothing of the shameful and vicious life in those institutions, by which our worthy youth have been so lamentably corrupted.

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[17] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools," translated by Painter, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

> 3 The third consideration is the highest of all, namely, God's command, which through Moses so often urges and enjoins that parents instruct their children, that the seventy-eighth Psalm says: "He established a testimony in Jacob and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children."[18]

Parents are too often unconcerned or incapable of educating their children. Luther continued,

> Therefore it will be the duty of the mayors and council to exercise the greatest care over the young. For since the happiness, honor, and life of the city are committed to their hands, they would be held recreant before God and the world, if they did not, day and night, with all their power, seek its welfare and improvement. Now the welfare of a city does not consist alone in great treasures, firm walls, beautiful houses, and munitions of war; indeed, where all these are found, and reckless fools come into power, the city sustains the greater injury. But the highest welfare, safety, and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure and advantage.[19]

Having presented his arguments for establishing and maintaining schools, Luther outlined a broad and practical plan for Christian education of boys and girls. This education was to fit them for all stations in life. Language study was especially stressed and the establishment of public libraries was urged.

> For if a knowledge of the Gospel and of every kind of learning is to be preserved, it must be embodied in books, as the prophets

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[18] *Ibid*., pp. 174-177.

[19] *Ibid*., pp. 180-181.

> and apostles did, as I have already shown. This should be done, not only that our spiritual and civil leaders may have something to read and study, but also that good books may not be lost, and that the arts and languages may be preserved, with which God has graciously favored us.[20]

The kinds of books to be included in these libraries indicated the kind of education envisioned by Luther. There were to be first of all the Scriptures, books useful in acquiring languages "whether heathen or Christian," books on arts and science, jurisprudence and medicine and a prominent place for history.

The letter concluded with a patriotic appeal to the leaders of Germany to educate for the best interests of Germany.

> ...I am not seeking my own interest, but that of all Germany....And even if I were a Turk and heathen, and it should yet appear that my advice was advantageous, not for myself, but for Christianity, no reasonable person would despise my counsel.[21]

The last of Luther's writings devoted to education appeared in 1530. Called "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School" ("Eine Predigt dass man Kinder zur Schulen halten sollen"), the discourse was not really a sermon but a treatise on schools and parental-governmental responsibility to the young. In many ways the tract was in the nature of an episcopal letter to the general clergy from one who was disturbed by widespread parental neglect and felt the responsibility of directing and planning for the new Protestant movement.

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[20] Ibid., p. 203.

[21] Ibid., pp. 208-209.

The "Sermon," after an introduction addressed to Spengler, to the parish pastors, and to the people in general, examined education under two headings: the spiritual benefits of education for the young; and the temporal benefits to be derived from its encouragement. The decline of power for the Roman Church and the resulting decline of the monasteries and convents training young people for the clergy was leading many parents to put their children to work after a minimum education. Luther saw the influence of the Devil in this:

> Among his [Satan's] various crafty devices, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, is to delude the common people into withholding their children from school and instruction, while he suggests to them such hurtful thoughts as these: "Since there is no hope for the cloisters and priesthood as formerly, we do not need learned men and study, but must consider how we may obtain food and wealth.[22]

Setting forth many arguments, Luther attacked the decision of parents not to obtain an education for their children.

As to spiritual benefits of an education, the reformer felt that instruction was necessary on both preparatory and university levels so that ministerial work would be adequately provided for. More than this, Luther sensed that gifted children ought to be assured of an education.

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

> Such boys of ability ought to be kept at study, especially if they are poor men's sons, for all the foundations and monasteries and livings endowments were established for this purpose.[23]

Luther continued, encouraging education for the "masses":

> Beside them, indeed, other boys ought also to study, even though they are not so clever, and ought to learn to understand, write, and read Latin; for it is not only highly learned Doctors and Masters of Holy Scripture, that we need. We must also have ordinary pastors, who will teach the Gospel and the Catechism to the young and ignorant, and baptize, and administer the Sacraments....
>
> Even though a boy who has studied Latin afterwards learns a handicraft, and becomes a burgher, we have him in reserve, in case he should have to be used as a pastor, or in some other service of the Word. His knowledge does not hurt him in the earning of a living; on the contrary, he can rule his house all the better because of it, and besides, he is prepared for the work of preacher or pastor, if he is needed. It is especially easy in our day to train persons who can teach the Gospel and the Catechism, because not only Holy Scriptures, but knowledge of all kinds is so abundant, what with so many books, and so much reading, and (thank God!) so much preaching, that one can learn more in three years than used to be possible in twenty. Even women and children can now learn from German books and sermons more about God and Christ (I am telling only

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[23] Luther, "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School," Works, IV, p. 153.

> the truth!) than all the universities, foundations, monasteries, the whole papacy and all the world used to know.[24]

The second part of the "Sermon" contained a strong plea for a liberal Christian education because of the temporal and secular benefits to be derived from it. Governmental office in Luther's eyes was not far lower than ministerial office. Education, then, was needed for the ministry, for good government, to produce scholars and writers, and for the medical and other professions. The coming scarcity of educated men and the material wealth of the future scholars comprised a major part of the second argument. Education was defended also on the grounds of the satisfaction it gave to its possessor. Luther here defended albeit indirectly, the "liberal arts" and the rewards of education.

> I shall say nothing here about the fine pleasure that a man gets from having studied, even though he never has an office of any kind; how at home by himself he can read all kinds of things, how he can talk and associate with the learned; travel and do business in foreign lands; for perhaps there are very few people who are moved by this pleasure.[25]

In this sermon, as frequently elsewhere, Luther expressed a profound appreciation for teaching and the teaching profession. The following praise of teachers indicated as well Luther's view of the importance of education:

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[24] *Ibid*., pp. 153-154.

[25] *Ibid*., p. 165.

> I would...say that a diligent and pious schoolteacher, or master, or whoever it is that faithfully trains and teaches boys, can never be sufficiently rewarded, or repaid with any money, as even the heathen Aristotle says. Nevertheless, this work is as shamefully despised among us as though it was nothing at all. I myself, if I could leave the preaching office and other things, or had to do so, would not be so glad to have any other work as that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys, for I know that this is the most useful, the greatest, and the best, next to the work of preaching. Indeed, I scarcely know which of the two is the better; for it is hard to make old dogs obedient and old rascals pious; and that is the work at which the preacher must labor, often in vain. But young trees can be better bent and trained, though some of them break in the process. Let it be one of the greatest virtues on earth faithfully to train other people's children; very few people, almost none, in fact, do this for their own.[26]

The treatise concluded that government had the right to compel children to go to school and that the promising students especially should be sent, even though they must be aided by government or by bequests from the rich.

It was difficult to measure the educational consequences of Luther's writings for his own day or for his followers in other periods and in other countries. Certainly his recommendations were widely discussed, his ideas widely followed. It remained for some of his contemporaries to work out practical details. The source and inspiration for educational reform and educational innovation was the friar of Wittenberg. Even Melanchthon, so widely heralded as the "Preceptor of Germany," acknowledged Luther's leadership in all matters:

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[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

> One is an interpreter; another a logician; and still another an orator, affluent and beautiful in speech; but Luther is all in all--whatever he writes, whatever he utters, pierces to the soul, fixes itself like arrows in the heart--he is a miracle among men.[27]

Luther's Educational System

Luther clearly recognized that popular education was fundamental to the Protestant revolt. His writings and sermons revealed a comprehensive plan for the education of the young in the home and in schools from the elementary level through the university. He was quite definite in outlining the school curricula, the methods to be employed and the proper role of parents and pastors, church and state.

Parents were to have the first and in many ways the most important responsibility for the education of their children. This Luther advocated all the more strongly because it was a Biblical injunction.

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[27] Painter, op. cit., p. 108.

> And why do old people live, except to care for, teach, and bring up the young? It is not possible for inexperienced youth to instruct and care for themselves; and for that reason God has commended them to us who are older and know what is good for them, and He will require a strict account at our hands. Therefore Moses gives this injunction: "Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee."[28]

Further, nature itself taught this lesson:

> There is no irrational animal that does not care for and instruct its young in what they should know, except the ostrich, of which God says: "She leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in the dust; and is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers." And what would it avail if we possessed and performed all else, and became perfect saints, if we neglect that for which we chiefly live, namely, to care for the young? In my judgment there is no other outward offense that in the sight of God so heavily burdens the world, and deserves such heavy chastisement, as the neglect to educate children.[29]

Although parents were charged with educating children, they often failed in their responsibility. Luther cited three reasons why the state and church must take over: first, some parents were lacking in piety; secondly, the great majority were unqualified, that is, "do not understand how children should be brought up and taught;"[30]

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[28] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen...," Painter, op. cit., p. 177.

[29] Ibid., pp. 177-178.

[30] Ibid., p. 179.

and thirdly, they did not have time because of employment and household duties.

As parents were unqualified to give the complete education that was necessary, their formal education had to be carried on by other agencies and should be supported by society as a whole. Schools on the elementary level were to be for all, not only that everyone might be taught the truth of Christian faith, but also so that they might be fitted for the vocations of life. Even girls were included and were to be taught reading and writing in addition to religious instruction.

As to the general plan for schools to be supported by contributions, bequests, and the common treasury of the congregation or state, Luther wrote:

> A father sends his child to a school, not only for this reason that he should only learn the a-b-c and no more than the Donatus (a Latin grammar); but that he should study in liberal arts, learn decency, honesty, and good morals, that he may become a fine person, fit to serve land and people. When such schooling is past, he is made a prince, ruler, preacher, or judge, and the training of school and of home is a thing of the past. But as for the rest, who remain a-b-c pupils forever and a day, that is not the proper thing. For Christ the Lord has come, and there is now a new rule: the son is now grown up and is to enter upon the rule of his heritage and property. If one should want to lie in school all his life and merely learn to spell and to study the grammar, he should be whipped out of school; for you are not sent to school to remain there, but to study something, and then to go out again and to serve other people. For thus a housefather will say to his son: Dear son, I have now given you an

> education, you must now become a father like myself; and again: Dear daughter, you must leave home and become a pious mother, for it is not to be understood that you are to remain forever in my home and under my training, and not desire your own furtherance and the establishment of your own home and sustenance.[31]

The "Latin Schools" were given a very important place in Luther's educational plan. This was especially true because of his concern that the Church should be well supplied with pastors and the state with trained teachers. The stress upon Latin instead of the vernacular was understandable in light of the general acceptance of the former language in all the learned professions. Latin schools prepared those students who were going on to the university. The university in turn trained for the professions, secular as well as clerical. With regard to the organization of Latin Schools, Luther's ideas should be comprehended through the practical work of Melanchthon.

The Saxony School Plan, prepared by Melanchthon with the approval of Luther, outlined in detail a pattern for the program of "Latin Schools" which, expanded to the "gymnasia," was to be widely copied throughout Germany and later in other lands of the Protestant revolt. In view of Luther's approval of the plan, and in considering his own clearly expressed design for an educational program, there seemed to be no basis for interpreting Melanchthon's plan as in opposition to that of Luther. In fact, there appeared to be ample evidence that the Saxony Plan of 1528 was patterned after Luther's school plan presented to Elector Frederick the Wise in 1524. Cubberley, therefore, may not have been entirely correct when he commented thus on Melanchthon's work:

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[31] Luther, "Sermon on Luke 2, 22-32," Works, St. Louis edition, XII, 1225f., quoted in P. E. Kretzmann, compiler, Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1940), p. 88.

> These were essentially humanistic schools with but a little preparatory work in the vernacular, and their purpose was to prepare those likely to become the future leaders of the State for entrance to the universities. How different was Melanchthon's conception as to the needs for education from the conceptions of Luther and Bugenhagen may easily be seen.[32]

It was as a university professor at Wittenberg from 1508 until 1546, the year of his death, that Luther laid the foundations for his educational system. Here he taught philosophy and lectured on the Sentences of Peter Lombard before becoming a professor of theology, the self-styled "Doctor of the Bible."

The medieval university which Luther in his more mature years sought to reform consisted of the traditional four faculties of arts, law, medicine and theology. Briefly the university was organized as follows:

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[32] Cubberley, op. cit., p. 316.

I.	Faculty of Arts	(1. Trivium (2. Quadrivium
II.	Faculty of Law	(1. Corpus Juris Civilis (2. Canon Law
III.	Faculty of Medicine	(1. Hippocrates (2. Galen (3. Arabic and Jewish writers since 7th century
IV.	Faculty of Theology	(1. Lombard's Sentences (2. Summa Theologia (3. Bible[33]

Bible study was supposedly a part of the curriculum of the theological faculty but actually received little attention. Roger Bacon's criticism in 1292 was quite applicable to the university in which Luther began his work:

> Although the principal study of the theologian ought to be the text of Scripture, as I have proved in the former part of this work, yet in the last fifty years theologians have been principally occupied with questions (for debate) as all know in tractates and summae--horse loads composed by many--and not at all with the most holy text of God. And accordingly, theologians give a readier reception to a treatise of scholastic questions than they will do to one about the text of Scripture.... The greater part of the questions, introduced into theology, with all the modes of disputation and solution, are in the terms of philosophy, as is known to all theologians, who have been well exercised in philosophy before proceeding to theology. Again, other questions which are in use among theologians, though in terms of theology, viz., of the Trinity, of the fall, of the incarnation, of sin, of virtue, of the sacraments, etc., are

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[33] Bruce, *op*. *cit*., p. 47.

> mainly ventilated by authorities, arguments, and solutions drawn from philosophy. And therefore the entire occupation of theologians now-a-days is philosophical both in substance and method.[34]

The comments of Rashdall, the well-known English authority on the medieval university, indicated:

> Much astonishment has sometimes been expressed at Luther's "discovery" of the Bible at the convent library in Erfurt. The real explanation of his previous ignorance of its contents is that Luther entered the order a Master of Arts who had never studied in a theological faculty. Even the highly educated secular priest who was not a theologian, or at least a canonist, was not supposed to know anything of the Bible but what was contained in his Missal and his Breviary. So much party capital has at times been made out of the supposed "religious" character of the medieval universities that it is necessary to assert emphatically that the religious education of a "bygone Oxford," in so far as it ever had any existence, was an inheritance not from the Middle Ages but from the Reformation. In Catholic Europe it was the product of the Counter-Reformation. Until that time the Church provided as little professional education for the future priest as it did "religious instruction" for the ordinary layman. Seminaries for the priests, catechisms, and careful preparation for the first communion, either at the universities or elsewhere, are the product of the Counter-Reformation, not of the Middle Ages. The whole medieval university system, even the college system in the developed form which it had attained by the end of the fifteenth century, was about as unlike the modern seminary as anything that can well be imagined.[35]

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[34] Roger Bacon, _Opera Inedita_, cited by Cubberley, _Readings in the History of Education_ (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), pp. 175-176.

[35] Hastings Rashdall, _The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages_ (New edition; London: Oxford University Press, 1951), III, 450-451.

Luther's attacks upon the Church for withholding the Bible became increasingly violent after the Ninety-Five Theses had precipitated the revolt, and there was no turning back. The structure of the university he retained, but the content and emphasis he earnestly desired ~~to~~ center about the Scriptures. In three of the four faculties, namely, arts, law, and theology, Luther had many and definite suggestions for change. The fourth faculty, medicine, was urged to bring about its own reform.

First, the university was to be made Christian and not "those schools of Satan."[36] By no means was Luther's counsel to rid the universities of some of Aristotle's books to be construed to mean that he intended abandoning the liberal arts. Liberal arts were to be "cleansed" and given new meaning. It was the meaning instilled through Scriptures which was to give knowledge lasting worth.

Luther, in rejecting Aristotle's philosophical books, also repudiated scholastic philosophy embodied in Thomas Aquinas' works. He referred to both Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy as "Satanic filth."[37] Throughout most of his later life he devoted his vast energies to destroying their influence. In the place of Thomistic philosophy he advocated the study of Biblical truths.

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[36] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen ...," Painter, op. cit.; p. 175.

[37] Ibid., p. 199.

Luther advised, secondly, retaining Aristotle's Logic, Rhetoric and Poetics "for the profitable training of young people in speaking and preaching."[38] The importance of languages, mathematics and history was emphasized. It should be noted that he constantly deemphasized the commentaries and interpretations so much a part of the medieval university. To Luther the principal purpose of languages and of history was to reach original sources, that each man might interpret for himself.

Thirdly, concerning the fields of law and theology Luther had much to say. He roundly condemned current practice:

> At present the canon law is not what is in the books, but what is in the sweet will of the pope and his flatterers.
>
> . . . .
>
> The temporal law,--God help us! what a wilderness it has become!
>
> . . . .
>
> My friends the theologians have spared themselves pains and labor; they leave the Bible in peace and read the Sentences. I should think that the Sentences ought to be the first study of young students in theology and the Bible ought to be the study for the doctors....
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> . . . .
>
> ...we find among the theologians more of

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[38] Luther, "An Open Letter...," Works (Philadelphia edition), II, 147.

> heathen and human opinion than of the holy and certain doctrine of Scripture.
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> . . . .
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> The number of theological books must also be lessened, and a selection made of the best of them. For it is not many books or much reading that makes men learned; but it is good things, however little of them, often read, that make men learned in the Scriptures, and make them godly, too. Indeed the writings of all the holy fathers should be read only for a time, in order that through them we may be led to the Holy Scriptures. As it is, however, we read them only to be absorbed in them and never come to the Scriptures. We are like men who study the sign-posts and never travel the road. The dear fathers wished, by their writings, to lead us to the Scriptures, but we so use them as to be led away from the Scriptures, though the Scriptures alone are our vineyard in which we ought all to work and toil.[39]

The University of Wittenberg, in which Luther and Melanchthon played such a prominent role in the training of teachers for the new schools, had a student body which numbered as many as two thousand. Requests for teachers came even from royal households. There was preserved a letter of Martin Luther replying to a request of the King of Sweden for a tutor for his son. This request was granted. A young man named Norman, accompanied by one Michael Agricola, was sent.[40]

At least one Protestant university, the University of Marburg, was founded during Luther's lifetime. Others in Germany and neighboring lands followed soon after. In Lutheran lands the universities served as the springboard for the propagation and preservation of the faith. They enjoyed great freedom and exerted influence in political and social matters. Further, they flourished as laboratories for the initiation and testing of educational theory.

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[39] Luther, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility...," Works, II, pp. 148-151.

[40] Letter of Luther to King Gustavus I of Sweden, April 18, 1539, The Letters of Martin Luther, selected and translated by Margaret A. Currie (London: Macmillan, 1908), pp. 369-370.

Curriculum and Methods

Luther's theological views were fundamental to his educational theory and educational plan. The chief source and inspiration for understanding of human nature, curriculum and methodology were the Scriptures. From Luther's specific writings on education and the frequent references to it throughout his work, it was clear that he had a master plan, the details of which were spelled out by some of his co-workers and contemporaries.

A discerning observer of young people, Luther put his understanding of their nature to good use in planning for their education. His appeal to utilize the natural interests of children and to make learning a pleasant experience anticipated modern teaching practice.

> Now since the young must leap and jump, or have something to do, because they have a natural desire for it which should not be restrained, (for it is not well to check them in everything,) why should we not provide for them such schools, and lay before them such

> studies? By the gracious arrangement of God, children take delight in acquiring knowledge, whether languages, mathematics, or history. And our schools are no longer a hell or purgatory, in which children are tortured over cases and tenses, and in which with much flogging, trembling, anguish and wretchedness they learn nothing. If we take so much time and pains to teach our children to play cards, sing, and dance, why should we not take as much time to teach them reading and other branches of knowledge, while they are young and at leisure, are quick at learning, and take delight in it?[41]

Just as modern in outlook was the appeal to understand children by becoming one of them in work and play. Thus, after presenting an interesting stratagem[42] for teaching the meaning of faith and love, Luther said:

> Let none think himself too wise for this and despise such child's play. Christ, in order to train men, must needs become a man himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them. Would to God such child's play were widely practiced. In a short time we would have a wealth of Christian people, souls becoming rich in Scripture and the knowledge of God, until they would, of their own accord add more of such purses as Locos communes[43] and comprehend all Scripture in them. Otherwise things will remain as they have been, a daily going to church and a coming away again. For no one thinks that it makes any difference except for the time it takes. No one expects to learn anything there. A man listens to preaching three or four years and does not

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[41] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen...," Painter, op. cit., p. 198.

[42] The plan Luther presented was to encourage memorization by giving each pupil two sacks in which to put Bible verses committed to memory. By this game young people would learn the meaning of faith and love.

[43] "Proof texts."

> learn enough to give answer concerning one article of the Creed; this I know from daily experience. Enough is written in the books, yes; but it has not been driven home to the hearts.[44]

The program of studies and the hierarchy of subject fields were outlined by Luther in a number of his writings. Chief among the studies were the languages. Through the study of languages one could avoid the error of depending entirely on commentaries and return to original sources. Since Greek and Hebrew were the languages of the Bible, their study was given a new impetus by Lutheran theologians.

> Hence it was also a stupid undertaking to attempt to learn the meaning of Scripture by reading the expositions of the fathers and their numerous books and glosses. Instead of this, men should have given themselves to the study of languages. For because they were without languages the dear fathers at times belabored a text with many words and yet caught barely an inkling of its meaning; their comment is half guess work, half error. And yet you run after it with much labor, when you could meanwhile by means of the languages find a much better interpretation than the one you are following. For in comparison with the comments of all the fathers, the languages are as sunlight to shadow.[45]

Although the languages were all to be taught Luther would not have children burdened with too many languages at one time. Thus, in the Saxony School Plan, Latin was to be taught first. In emphasizing the value of classical languages, Luther did not leave out the vernacular. German was used in the common schools, was introduced into public worship, and was given new importance through the Bible translation, books and hymns.

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[44] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service ("Deudsche Messe und Ordnung Gottis Dienstз") 1526," Works, VI, p. 176.

[45] Luther, "To the Councilmen of All Cities...," Works, IV, p. 118.

Luther encouraged the study of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, although they were given relative merit and were to be controlled as explained in the following passages:

> The science of grammar teaches and shows what words are called and what they mean; but we should first of all learn the thing itself. Whoever is to preach and teach must know beforehand what a thing is and what it is called; but grammar teaches only the last. Knowledge is of two kinds--one of words, and the other of things. Whoever has no knowledge of the things will not be helped by a knowledge of the words. It is an old proverb that "one cannot speak well of what one does not understand." Of this truth our age has furnished many examples. For many learned and eloquent men have uttered foolish and ridiculous things in speaking of what they did not understand. But whoever thoroughly understands a matter will speak wisely and reach the heart, though he may be wanting in eloquence and readiness of speech....I do not wish to be understood as rejecting grammar, which is necessary; but this I say: if the subject is not studied along with the grammar, one will never become a good teacher. For as some one has said, the teacher's or preacher's discourse should be born, not in his mouth, but in his heart.[46]
>
> "Dialectica" speaks simply, straightforward, and plainly, as when I say: Give me something

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[46] Quoted by Painter, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

> to drink. But "Rhetorica" adorns the matter, saying: give me of the acceptable juice in the cellar, which finely froths and makes people merry... "Dialectica" is a profitable and necessary art which justly ought to be studied and learned; it shows how we ought to speak orderly and uprightly, what we should acknowledge and judge to be right or wrong; 'tis not only necessary in schools, but also in consistories, in courts of justice, and in churches most especially.[47]

The study of history was given a high place in Luther's scale of values. History, according to Luther, revealed God's wisdom in His dealing with me and was a source of moral and philosophical truth. The frequency with which he mentioned and recommended historical study attested to Luther's concern that it be included in the curricula of all schools.

> Histories are nothing but indications, memorials, and tokens of divine works and judgments, of the manner in which God preserves, governs, hinders, furthers, punishes, and honors the world, and in particular mankind, according as every one deserves evil or good.... Therefore the writers of histories are the most useful people and the best teachers, so that one cannot sufficiently honor, praise, or thank them, and this should be the work of all the great lords, such as emperors, kings, etc., who might cause the history of their times to be written with diligence and, kept in the library, preserve it, also begrudge no costs which might be applied to keep and train such people as show aptitude for this work...[48]

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[47] Luther, Table Talk, tr. and ed. by William Hazlitt (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), pp. 339, 340.

[48] Luther, "Introduction to Capella's History of the Duke of Milan," Works (St. Louis ed.) XIV, 378, quoted by Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 79.

> The celebrated Roman, Varro, affirms that the best way to teach is to unite examples with words. This results in a clearer apprehension of what is taught, and secures also its better retention; otherwise, when statements are heard without examples, no matter how good the doctrine may be, the heart is not so deeply moved and the subject is not so clearly understood nor so firmly retained. Therefore history is very valuable. For whatever philosophy or reason teaches, that history supplies with illustrations, and portrays, as it were, before our eyes what the words convey to the ear....[49]

> As for myself, if I had children and were able, I would have them learn not only the languages and history, but also singing, instrumental music, and the whole course of mathematics. For what is all this but mere child's play, in which the Greeks in former ages trained their children, and by this means became wonderfully skillful people, capable for every undertaking? How I regret that I did not read more poetry and history, and that no one taught me in these branches. Instead of these I was obliged with great cost, labor, and injury, to read Satanic filth, the Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophy, so that I have enough to do to get rid of it.[50]

In addition to these studies, Luther included natural science, music, and gymnastics. The approach to the study of nature was unique for his day and antedated Comenius' doctrine: "Why shall we not, instead of dead books, open the living book of nature?" Luther's vehement revolt against learning about nature from the works of Aristotle and Pliny helped open the door to scientific inquiry.

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[49] _Ibid_., p. 376.

[50] Luther, "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen...," Painter, _op_. _cit_., pp. 198-199.

> We are at the dawn of a new era, for we are beginning to recover the knowledge of the external world that we had lost through the fall of Adam. We now observe creatures properly, and not as formerly under the Papacy. Erasmus is indifferent, and does not care to know how fruit is developed from the germ. But by the grace of God we already recognize in the most delicate flower the wonders of divine goodness and omnipotence. We see in His creatures the power of His word. He commanded, and the thing stood fast. See that force display itself in the stone of a peach. It is very hard, and the germ it encloses is very tender; but, when the moment has come, the stone must open to let out the young plant that God calls into life. Erasmus passes by all that, takes no account of it, and looks upon external objects as cows look upon a new gate.[51]

Three new elements were added to the curriculum in Lutheran schools. They were music, gymnastics and the beginnings of vocational education. Music was Luther's forte. He was himself an accomplished musician, and his hymns had almost as much to do with furthering the cause of Protestantism as did his various writings. The schools established through the influence of Luther and his co-workers made music an integral part of the program. Its prominent place has been maintained in Lutheran education to the present day. Luther's tributes to the educative and inspirational value of music were many and varied. The following quotation was typical of the many passages scattered throughout his writings which show the high esteem he gave it:

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[51] Quoted by Painter, op. cit., p. 163.

> Music is the best tonic for a sorrowful person, if he sings but a little bit.... Music I have always loved. He who is expert in this art, he is of good caliber and fit for all things. Music must be retained in schools on the basis of need. A schoolmaster must be able to sing, otherwise I shall not regard him. Nor should one commission young fellows for the ministry unless they have first received their testing and training in school....Music is an excellent gift of God, and nearest to theology. I would not exchange the little music that I know for anything great, and young people must be trained in this art, since it produces fine and skilled people....Whoever, like the enthusiasts, despises music, with those I am not satisfied. For music is a gift and donation of God, not a gift of men....After theology I give to music the highest place and the greatest honor.[52]

Luther encouraged gymnastics for its cathartic effect. This was illustrated by the following passage:

> It was well considered and arranged by the ancients that the people should practise gymnastics, in order that they might not fall into reveling, unchastity, gluttony, intemperance, and gaming. Therefore these two exercises and pastimes please me best, namely music and gymnastics, of which the first drives away all care and melancholy from the heart, and the latter produces elasticity of the body and preserves the health. But a great reason for their practise is that people may not fall into gluttony, licentiousness, and gambling, as is the case, alas! at courts and in cities. Thus it goes when such honorable and manly bodily exercises are neglected.[53]

In the vernacular schools, especially, a vocational emphasis was introduced through Luther's influence.

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[52] Luther, "Table Talk," Works (St. Louis edition), XXII, 1538 ff., quoted in Kretzmann, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[53] Painter, op. cit., p. 166.

It was true that training for a trade was to be done largely in the home, but this training was to be coordinated with the school. That education should fit children for life was one of Luther's expressed doctrines. Later this took form in the acceptance of vocational education as a part of the curriculum.

Luther regarded the teaching profession very highly and fully understood its vital role in the furtherance of the Protestant cause. Teaching and the ministry were to go hand in hand--the work of one was equally as significant as the work of the other. It was not surprising, then, that Luther advocated experience as a teacher as a pre-requisite in a pastor's training.

As a teacher himself Luther was well received by his students. A number of testimonials to his dynamic and appealing teaching were in existence. He was an advocate of striking methods of teaching, especially as one considered the time. From the way in which he himself taught and from the specific techniques he suggested, it was possible to outline an approach to methodology which was very modern in its outlook. The following principles advocated by Luther were as acceptable to the modern educator as they were dramatically new in Luther's own time:

1. Use simplicity and repetition.

> In the first place, let the preacher take the utmost care to avoid all changes or variations in the text and wording....Let him, on the contrary, take each of the forms respectively, adhere to it, and repeat it anew year after year. For young and inexperienced people can not be successfully instructed unless we adhere to the same text or the same forms of expression. They easily become confused when the teacher at one time employs a certain form of words and expressions, and at another, apparently with a view to make improvements, adopts a different form. The result of such a course will be that all the time and labor which we have expended will be lost.[54]

2. Proceed from the simple to the complex.

> In the second place, when those whom you are instructing have become familiar with the words of the text, then teach them to understand the meaning of those words, so that they may become acquainted with the object and purport of the lesson....When you have reached the end of the Short Catechism, begin anew with the Large Catechism, and by means of it furnish the people with fuller and more comprehensive explanations.[55]

3. Use the Socratic or question method for understanding.

> Not simply that they may learn and repeat the words by heart, as has hitherto been the case, but let them be questioned from article to article, and show what each signifies and how they understand it. If everything can not be asked at one time, take one article to-day, and another to-morrow. For when parents or guardians will not take the trouble through themselves or others, there no catechetical instruction can ever be successful.[56]

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[54] Luther, "Preface to the Small Catechism," translated by Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

[56] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," translated by Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

4. Learning should be pleasant.

> Since we are preaching to children, we must also prattle with them.... What must be forced with rods and blows will have no good result, and at farthest, under such treatment, they will remain godly no longer than the rod descends upon their backs.[57]

5. Use concrete illustrations. The quotations already given on the value of history and the teaching of Scripture texts showed Luther's understanding of the need for concrete examples.

Luther knew the importance of a story to illustrate a lesson and to hold the student's interest. Aesop's *Fables*, translated by Luther, became a part of the vernacular school curriculum. It was notable, too, that the *Small Catechism* first appeared with twenty illustrative woodcuts. The number of illustrations was increased in later editions.

Self activity was to be encouraged among students by means of plays, discussions and debates. Disputations were to be held weekly, not for the sake of honor to the students but as a device for seeking truth.

Contributions of Luther

Luther's influence on education as well as on religious thought was widely felt. Later Lutheran generations looked to their founder for educational policy as well as doctrine. His emphases and contributions in educational theory could be summarized briefly.

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[57] Luther, "Large Catechism," quoted by Painter, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

1. Education was for salvation. The central source of revealed truth was the Bible. Herein was the guide for living as well as education.

2. Education was of fundamental importance to Church and State. It was not for spiritual well-being alone, but also for temporal welfare. The State, therefore, had the right and duty to demand school attendance. Although advocating public education, however, Luther did not mean secularization.

3. The languages, both classical and vernacular, were given a new emphasis. Classical languages were necessary in order that original sources rather than commentaries be given pre-eminence. The vernacular was stressed so that Biblical truth might be available to all.

4. Music, gymnastics and vocational education were introduced to the curriculum. The rationale given for the inclusion of each of the above was that it was necessary to educate the Christian man, fitted through instruction and discipline to discharge the duties of life.

5. The design for a complete system of education

from elementary through the university was presented. This design, consistent as to emphasis, plan and content, made it possible for Luther's contemporaries to work out details such as the grading system, specific subjects, and texts.

6. Teaching and the role of the teacher were endowed with a new significance. To Luther, teaching was of no less importance than the ministry.

7. By example and by direction a fresh and often advanced approach to methodology was offered. Luther's appreciation of nature and child life laid the foundation for educational science and antedated both Francis Bacon and Comenius.

8. Public libraries for both scholars and the public were advocated. This new idea gave a powerful impetus to free public libraries as adjuncts to free public schools.

9. Philosophy was mistrusted since it often served to hide rather than enlighten revealed truth. The overthrow of Thomas Aquinas left a void in Luther's philosophical thought.

10. Education was to be universal but not necessarily democratic. Luther broadened the base of education and urged education of both sexes, but he did not conceive of equal opportunity of education for all.

CHAPTER III

NORWAY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Medieval Norway was one of Europe's strongest nations. A number of factors caused its decline from that position and its subsequent domination by Denmark. The nineteenth century in Norway saw, however, the reemergence of Norwegian national consciousness. After centuries of foreign rule, Norway began and carried forward a persistent effort to determine its own destiny.

Two forces predominated throughout the century. One, the intense spirit of nationalism, came about in part as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. At that time (1814), Norway was taken from Denmark, with which it had many affinities, and handed to Sweden, with which it had much enmity.

The second bond for all Norwegians continued to be Lutheranism. As Norway had a State Church and Lutheranism was the established religion, all Norwegians felt a kinship in faith. Controversies arose, but Norwegians tended to agree and disagree within the bounds of Lutheranism.

The common bonds of nationalism and the Lutheran faith, strong among the nineteenth-century Norwegian people, helped them to cling to this heritage in the New

World. This chapter deals with nineteenth-century Norway as it developed along political, social, religious and educational lines. In so doing it outlines the contributions of religious leaders and portrays the foundations upon which Norwegian emigrants to America built.

Political and Social Developments

To understand the Norwegian Lutherans who emigrated in such numbers in the nineteenth century, it was necessary to take note of some of the principal movements, political and social as well as religious, which made Norwegians so intensely nationalistic and so devoted to their religious faith.[1]

Norway in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries was not in the main stream of intellectual and cultural life of Europe. She had lost her medieval position as a power of consequence. She had, in fact, been a province of Denmark since 1830 before being handed over unceremoniously to Sweden at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814.

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[1] Two main sources were consulted in outlining the background and religious development of Norwegian-Americans. Theodore Blegen's Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860, has been utilized extensively. A recently published history, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans, by E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, has furnished a comprehensive guide for understanding the religious situation.

Political dominance by Denmark meant cultural, religious and educational dominance. The heart of Norway, like that of Denmark, was Copenhagen; and from Copenhagen came the intellectual movements and political directives which molded the thinking of both peoples. Not until 1811 did Norway get her own university to train her professional men. The founding of a university in Christiania (Oslo) did much to develop leadership in Norway, as did the intense nationalistic spirit engendered by the enforced switch in allegiance from Denmark to Sweden.

Political alignment with Sweden was not popular with the Norwegian people. Although in theory the two countries were sister monarchies under a Swedish monarch, there was no doubt that Norway was the "junior partner." In 1814 representatives of the Norwegian people met at Eidsvoll, Norway, to draw up a national constitution. This document helped to promote the nationalistic spirit in Norway and provided for one of the most democratic governments of the world.

The nineteenth century became a period of reawakening of Norwegian national consciousness. This was reflected in a "golden age" for art, literature and music, as well as an intense self-awareness as a political and social entity.

The democratic spirit, enhanced by the Constitution of Eidsvoll, was particularly strong among bønder, or farmers of Norway. The bønder and husmenn, or tenant farmers, comprised in 1865 nearly seventy per cent of Norway's population,[2] and from this group came the greatest proportion of the immigrants to America.[3] Proud of their status as free men and independent by nature, bønder were democratic in spirit, self-sufficient by necessity, and ideally suited to frontier conditions.

While bønder typified the native and rural Norwegian spirit, the official class represented the foreign and city influence. It should be remembered that clergy as well as other officials were trained by the state institutions and owed their duty to the state. A cleavage existed between the two groups which was transplanted also to the New World. The following paragraph by Knud Langeland, a Norwegian-American journalist who came to America in 1843 as a farm boy, illustrated this resentment of the socially less privileged classes to the power of the aristocracy:

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[2] Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860 (Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1931), p. 4.

[3] Of all immigrant groups Norwegians have been the most rural and second only to Ireland in the percentage of their population which immigrated. The fidelity to Lutheranism was a characteristic especially of the Norwegian immigrants. Compared to the more numerous Swedes, Norwegians in 1960 had a church body of well over a million. The Swedish Augustana Synod, which was the only Lutheran group among the Swedes, contained only half that number.

> I grew up in a place where I had opportunity to see the young sons of the Pastor, the District Judge, the Captain, and the Merchant educated under a tutor (we called him the Candidate) and undoubtedly it was the sight of these well-dressed, carefree, jolly boys, who had nothing else to do than to play and to gather knowledge, which first caused the agonizing question to thrust itself, like sharp steel, into my young heart, "What have I done, and what have these done, that there should be so great a difference between us?" And when they then mocked me for my tattered clothes and laughingly pointed their fingers at me and cried, "Look at him," then, bowed under a heavy load, I walked with nose toward the ground. I was offended; I cried and swore.[4]

Radically different politically, culturally, and even in language, the official class represented aristocracy, political and educational advantage, and quite often a conservative spirit. The *bønder*, on the other hand, were democratic and independent in outlook and, on the whole, far more ready to accept the social and political institutions they found in America.

Religious Developments

The nineteenth century Norwegian emigrant was essentially a religious man. Accustomed to state church domination, he nevertheless often rebelled most strenuously against its aristocratic spirit. When he arrived in America, he brought with him the religious controversies which had been part of his life in the homeland.

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[4] Knud Langeland, *Nordmaerdene i Amerika* (Chicago: John Anderson & Co., 1888), pp. 122-123. Quoted by E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), I, 9.

Haugeanism, Grundtvigianism and Rationalism. Among the vital forces which helped mold the mind of nineteenth-century Norwegians three were especially significant. These three were Haugeanism, Grundtvigianism, and rationalism. Two of these influences, Haugeanism and Grundtvigianism, the one led by a Norwegian and the other by a Dane, emphasized lay participation in religious and political affairs and "faith active in works." It was, however, characteristic of Norwegians that this democratic spirit did not constitute a break with the established Church. Followers of both Hauge and Grundtvig were faithful Lutherans who did not hesitate to criticize the Church and church men from within the confines of the Church.

Laymen were much influenced by pietism of the Conventicle type; that is, "the gathering of believers in small groups for mutual edification--stimulating education, both general and religious, and giving an impetus to mission work."[5]

An explanation of Luther's Small Catechism entitled Sandhed til Gudfrygthed (Truth Unto Godliness) by Erik Pontoppidan has been, as Nelson and Fevold pointed out, "the Norwegian layman's dogmatics."[6] Transported to America and accepted by laymen in general, Truth Unto Godliness played its part in giving expression to the pietistic spirit in Lutheran orthodoxy.

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[5] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 10.

The third force which often precipitated the reforms and new approaches of Hauge and Grundtvig was that of Rationalism. The rationalistic spirit of the French Revolution did not make an impact upon Norway until the last years of the nineteenth century. Largely it was the clergy which was affected by it. Undoubtedly one of the principal reasons for this was the fact that laymen were not university men, as a rule, and it was through the University that rationalistic ideas came.

Hans Nielsen Hauge. Any attempt at understanding nineteenth-century Norway and the emigrant from its shores must take into account the life and message of Hans Nielsen Hauge. Hauge (1771-1824) was a lay evangelist who stressed "living" Christianity as opposed to clericalism and rigid doctrinal orthodoxy. His emphasis upon repentance and conversion called for direct results, "good works", as evidence of true Christianity. It was perhaps not surprising that he "was sometimes charged with failing to preach 'grace alone'."[7]

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[6] Loc. cit.

Although Hauge was highly critical of the Church, he nevertheless remained loyal to it.

> ...he urged his followers to be faithful to their congregations, to attend church regularly, and to make use of the spiritual ministries of the parish pastor....The Haugean movement is an example of conventicle Christianity within the framework of the Lutheran state church.[8]

Hauge wrote extensively. His pietistic books were eagerly read and accepted by laymen throughout Norway and, in particular, on the West Coast where clericalism was not so dominant.[9]

One of the most significant reasons for Hauge's appeal was undoubtedly the practical-mindedness of the man himself. During the blockade of Norway by England's fleet during the Napoleonic Wars Hauge was taken from prison, where he had been sent because of his religious activities, and put to work extracting salt from the sea. (He was purported to be the only man in Norway who could do this.) Hauge's concept of a person's daily work as a "divine calling" added dignity to layman's labors. To men who were resentful of the powers of office-holders, suspicious of intellectualism in religion, and increasingly receptive to democratic ideals, Haugeanism made a powerful appeal. The lines were clearly drawn between the "high church" and the "low church" approaches. These distinctions were to be continued in America and accounted in large measure for the rise of different American synods.

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[7] _Ibid_., p. 16.

[8] _Ibid_., p. 17.

[9] Einar Molland, _Church Life in Norway_ (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House /1957/, p. 7 _et seq_.

Grundtvig. N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), the Danish pastor, author, titular bishop, hymnwriter and founder of the famous folke-høyskole (people's high school), was another potent force in developing the layman's low church viewpoint. The Grundtvigian theology was anti-rationalistic and Biblically based. Its emphasis was also on "living Christianity." In contrast to Haugeanism, however, it was a "happy Christianity."

> ...the Haugeans would say: "Whatever you do, be not too quick to believe that you are saved. Be sure that you have earnestly repented of your sins."...Grundtvig somehow conveyed the comfortable feeling that after all God is the kind Father of all mankind, and we are His children. He will give everyone a chance, for He is so good and kind, as you can see in the nature of your beloved country. Just pray your Lord's Prayer, and love Him, and all will be well.[10]

Grundtvig had made a "matchless discovery" in 1825, to the effect that the Apostles' Creed, not the

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[10] Andreas Helland, "Background and Beginnings of the Lutheran Free Church," (unpublished lecture notes, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn., 1941), pp. 45-46.

Bible, is the Church's ultimate authority. This heretical pronouncement was not well received by the State Church but had its impact upon some of the laymen. The simple approach, the inherent optimism, the emphasis upon the practical, had their appeal also for some of the pastors. In America, true Grundtvigians "were not numerous among Norwegian-American Lutherans."[11] Nevertheless, Grundtvigianism was an influence that had to be reckoned with in establishing the Lutheran Church in America. Its liberalism exerted an influence in both cultural and educational areas.

Rationalism and reform. Lutheranism had been the state religion of Norway since the Reformation. The Lutheran faith had, however, been imposed on Norway by the Danish hierarchy (1537). Most of the theological currents since that time also came from abroad. No single theological trend was perhaps of such vital concern to the established church as that of rationalism.

Late in arriving in Norway after being dominant in the theological faculty in Copenhagen, the rationalistic movement was to have a profound influence upon the church life of Norway. The extent to which rationalism was actually able to gain ascendancy among the Norwegian clergy was an open question. Those who had been especially influenced by lay movements such as that of Hauge, and were not indoctrinated through the University, were quite convinced that it was the dominant force among the clergy of the early nineteenth century.[12] Others have held to the view that although it was present among the Norwegian clergy, it never won complete control as it did in Denmark.

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[11] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 31.

> By the close of the century, then, the bishops were of the old type, and it is well known that Johan Nordahl Brun, in particular, kept a sharp eye on the pastors in his bishopric lest they fall into rationalism.[13]

In any event, rationalistic thought was a force of paramount importance in the history of the Norwegian church. The fact that some of the clergy were affected by it helped alienate laymen and heightened their suspicion of the University. Certainly the Norwegian Lutheran clergy who emigrated to America reacted violently against rationalism. Anything which appealed to reason alone and was not a literal teaching of the Bible was regarded with suspicion. Typical of this sentiment was the reaction of Pastor Vilhelm Koren, one of the intellectual leaders of the Norwegian-Americans:

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[12] A. C. Bang, Hans Nielsen Hauge og Hans Samtid (Christiania og København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1910, pp. 27 ff.

[13] J. Magnus Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism Up to 1872 (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 7.

> ...At my confirmation I was publicly examined by a more or less well-meaning rationalistic minister. On the church floor I was asked what kind of blood there is in a fish. That it was red and cold was taken as evidence of God's wisdom. And then he turned to the next boy.[14]

Norway now had its own university, and Norwegian professors contributed much to the resurgence of evangelical Christianity. A number of very capable and dedicated teachers at the University led the Church of Norway and its pastors in this return to Lutheran confessionalism. Among the new leaders should be mentioned Svend Borchmann Hersleb (1784-1836), Stener Johannes Stenersen (1789-1835), Carl P. Caspari (1814-1892), and especially Gisle Johnson (1822-1894).

Gisle Johnson. Johnson was such an influential figure in the church that the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Norway has been called "the Johnsonian Era."[15] It was the tutelage and inspiration of this devoted and well-beloved professor and churchman that gave much to the character of the nineteenth-century Lutheran church in Norway. Those university-trained pastors who came to America to found a church were his students, inspired by his example and quite ready to accept his theological views.

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[14] Vilhelm Koren, "Nogle Erindringer fra Min Ungdom eg fra Min Første Tid i Amerika," Symra, I (1905), 13.

[15] Cf. Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 32 ff.

> ...As it usually goes, they hung with almost fanatical enthusiasm upon this man, by whose witness they had been awakened, and by whose prayers they had been supported. One cannot therefore wonder at the fact that many of the theological candidates spoke like Johnson, prayed like Johnson and sighed like Johnson.[16]

Johnson's influence was largely through personal contact, but his theology was strictly in accordance with the traditional Lutheran confessions. Any view which hinted at doctrinal liberalism or tended to be non-Lutheran was under suspicion and considered unwelcome. At the same time, Johnson's pietism led to a puritanical atmosphere in Norwegian life. Christians must make a sharp break with the world, which meant avoiding dancing, card-playing, the theater, and other evils. In spite of the weaknesses this pietistic practice nurtured, the Johnsonian era exemplified its founder's two goals: to awaken Norway's spiritual life, and to preserve the Lutheran faith intact against attack.

The newer spirit of religious scepticism, engendered by Darwinism and the scientific spirit, was late in Norway, as were all important intellectual movements.

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[16] Georg Sverdrup, "Minder fra Norge," Samlede Skrifter i Udvalg, ed. by Andreas Helland (Minneapolis: Frikirkens Boghandels Forlag, 1909), I, 194.

Criticism of traditional Christianity by Norway's leading literary figures, such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Henrik Ibsen, Arne Garborg, made no appreciable number of converts among the emigrants to America. The Norwegian-American was a staunch and steadfast Lutheran, as he demonstrated so well by his violent reaction to Bjørnson in that super-patriot's tour of America in 1880-1881. Paulson commented thus on the public's reception of Bjørnson:

> Most of the immigrants were Lutherans, who, because of the great religious revival in Norway during the first half of the nineteenth century, came to America with very conservative and orthodox religious views. Living among strange people, confronted with strange customs and with religious views different from their own, they assumed a defensive attitude and became even more rigid and uncompromising in their religious faith than before. This state of affairs obtained especially among the members of the two strongest church organizations, the Norwegian Synod and the Conference. Therefore, when Bjørnson began to question the dogmas of the Lutheran church, a large part of the Norwegian-Americans felt that he was assaulting one of their most cherished possessions; and the clergy, especially, were not slow to voice their disapproval. The result was a struggle between the great majority of the Norwegian-Americans, who looked askance at his religious views, and the minority, who approved of them or excused them.[17]

The Norway of the nineteenth-century emigrant was devoutly religious. Rationalism had largely been defeated and there was a most earnest striving, on the part of clergymen and laymen alike, to find strength in Lutheran confessionalism. This did not mean complete harmony or lack of factionalism. "Pietism" and "pure doctrine" were often at odds. Clergy, trained at the University of Christiania, were accustomed to authority and adherence to "pure doctrine." Laymen were democratic and independent in spirit; and they often cherished practical results of Christianity--a living Christianity. Nevertheless, this combination of pietism and Lutheran orthodoxy has been quite typical of Norwegian-American Lutheranism. It has played a significant role in determining the curriculum and educational objectives of church-supported institutions of learning among Norwegian-Americans.

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[17] Arthur C. Paulson, "Bjørnson and the Norwegian-Americans, 1880-1881," Studies and Records (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association), 5 (1930), 85-86.

Developments in Education

Norwegian education in the nineteenth century was a natural and logical inheritance of the Lutheran Reformation. Lutheran since 1537,[18] the state church of Norway also controlled the educational principles and practices inherent in Luther's concept of "the priesthood of all believers."

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[18] Inez Steen, The March of Faith (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939), p. 73.

The educational legacy of Luther, applied in more detail by Melanchthon, Sturm, Bugenhagen and others of his intellectual descendants, became the norm in all of Lutheran Europe. This meant a general education for everyone, principally based upon religious concepts. Elementary schools became vernacular Lutheran schools. In Germany the Latin schools or *gymnasia* flourished, liberally leavened with Protestant religious instruction. In Germany also arose more Protestant universities, among them the pietist Lutheran University of Halle, from which emerged some of the evangelical and missionary leaders of the eighteenth century. Later graduates of Halle and similar university systems were to become prominent leaders among German Lutheran migrants to the New World.[19]

A significant feature of the educational development after Luther was the rise of the state church schools. In the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the right was given to each prince, town, and knight to choose his faith (Catholic or Protestant), and the subjects had to submit to the same faith or emigrate. Thus evolved the power of the state over the church and educational facilities, since each ruler became head of the church in his principality or city and controlled education through this church leadership.[20]

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[19] *Ibid*., pp. 77 ff.

[20] Cubberley, *op*. *cit*., pp. 318-319.

The state also administered both church and educational affairs in Norway as this influence spread and became entrenched. The Department of Church and Education of the Norwegian government was established by the Constitution of 1814[21] and continued to the present.[22] The organization of the educational system came as an outgrowth of the experience of Norway as a province of Denmark. Pastors and teachers, paid by the state, were subservient to it and bound to follow its dictates.

As early as 1730 Norway was largely literate, primarily as a result of the clergy's program of religious education in the parishes.[23] Even in the far-flung rural areas, the children for generations were taught to read the Bible for themselves and to learn Luther's _Small Catechism_ in preparation for confirmation. In 1739 the State passed a "revolutionary decree" establishing a system of elementary schools in each parish, with required universal attendance.[24] Although this law was not immediately put into effect, it nevertheless, as Hove stated,

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[21] Nelson and Fevold, _op_. _cit_., I, 11.

[22] At present entitled the Ministry of Church and Education.

[23] George M. Wiley, _The Organisation and Administration of the Educational System of Norway_ (Oslo: The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs...and the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, 1955), p. 22.

[24] _Loc_. _cit_.

> ...established basic principles on which all later educational legislation has built. In accordance with the wording and the spirit of the ordinance it has become the right and the duty of the State to take initiative in the field of education, to make school attendance compulsory for all educable children and to impose on the municipalities the provision of schools for the children of the community.[25]

Secondary education. Whereas literacy and religious education were the possession of all classes in Norway, secondary and higher education were secured only by relatively few. The possession of higher learning often created a gulf that separated clergy from laity.

Secondary education in Norway began in 1152 with the establishment of cathedral schools, called "learned schools" or "classical schools," in the three largest towns. They trained selected youths for official positions in the church and government. These three schools, in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, were still in existence after 800 years and still maintained high standards of classical education.[26] Following the Reformation many Latin schools like those in Germany were added.

After the common experience with all classes in the public elementary school, the official class, including the clergy, might enroll in the Latin School. A fairly typical example of the kind of training and the curriculum taken by the pastors who later came to America was described by Laur. Larsen, pioneer president of Luther College in Decorah, Iowa.[27] The usual course was eight years in length and often began when a boy was nine or ten years old. Immediately the student, for he became that at once, plunged into the study of three foreign languages, Greek, Latin and German. In addition to these languages there was Norwegian, religion, history, geography and penmanship. The same courses were continued throughout the student's secondary school years. In the more advanced classes French and Hebrew were added. The education was strictly classical, intensive rather than extensive; but the preparation was thorough.

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[25] Olav Hove, An Outline of Norwegian Education (Oslo: The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of Cultural Relations, 1955), p. 8.

[26] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Larsen described the educational atmosphere thus:

> On the whole I must consider myself fortunate in that I received excellent schooling. Most of my teachers were capable men, the classes were small, and we lived a life more isolated from the distractions of the outside world than is possible today [1893]....Nor were there the innumerable activities, literary societies, athletic matches, oratorical contests, debates, and so forth, which now draw time and interest away from the main school work. At school we studied, and in our free time we played. By

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[27] Laur. Larsen, "Atter nogle gamle minder," _Symra_, IX (December, 1913), 242. Cf. also Karen Larsen, _Laur. Larsen, Pioneer College President_ (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936), pp. 11-15.

> concentrating our strength on our studies, and not scattering our efforts on too many branches, we acquired a thorough knowledge in the subjects we studied.[28]

The students copied notes from the teachers' lectures. Often these notes were interspersed with Latin and Greek. Obviously thorough scholarship was demanded of the selected few who received the advantages of this advanced education.

The Latin school was designed to prepare candidates for professional training at the University. These schools were to become models for the higher education in America; and, since the preparation of ministers was the prime requirement in the New World, the emphasis was placed on this curriculum almost entirely in the Norwegian-American colleges. It should be remembered that the isolation of language and ruralism drove the immigrant to build upon that which he knew.

The University. Upon completing the Latin school the student was prepared to take an examination for entrance to the University. This was the so-called matriculation examination (*immatrikuleringseksamen*), arranged by the University.[29]

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[28] Larsen, "Fra gamle dage," a lecture delivered February 11, 1893. Quoted by Karen Larsen, *op*. *cit*., p. 12.

[29] Not until 1884 did the *examen* *artium*, the certificate granted upon completion of the final examination at the gymnasium, entitle a student to enter the University. Hove, *op*. *cit*., p. 10.

A list of candidates and their scholastic rank was published. There was intense competitive spirit.[30]

Norway's Royal Frederick University was "patterned after the German type of university, [and] at that time the German spirit was influential at Christiania."[31] This meant that the professional faculties of theology, law, medicine and arts existed much as they had in the medieval university. The reforms initiated by Martin Luther and developed by Melanchthon "consisted of the substitution of philology for philosophy as the core of instruction."[32] The Greek and Hebrew languages were given a new importance, since the aim was that each man should read original texts. In theology, Biblical exegesis and exposition had taken the place of scholastic philosophy. Melanchthon, the humanist scholar, had enlisted much of Renaissance learning in support of the Protestant position.

> It was to be his task to press the liberal arts into the service of the Gospel, relating the older learning to the new reformational

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[30] The difficulty and selectivity of the Latin school course was shown by the fact that in 1850 there were only eighty-seven candidates for matriculation at the University in all Norway. Twelve of these candidates, possessors of the bachelor's degree, were only seventeen years old. Among Larsen's fellow-candidates were the famous poets A. O. Vinje and Henrik Ibsen.

[31] Rohne, op. cit., p. 197.

[32] Theodore G. Tappert, "Luther in His Academic Role," The Mature Luther (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1959), p. 150.

> insights. The humanities also were needed to defend Christian liberty. By educating in the humanities future theologians, parish preachers, lawyers, physicians, and other leaders, Melanchthon was to endeavor to provide them with an adequate frame of reference in which they might develop their Christian freedom and in turn communicate the precious truths of the Gospel to others.[33]

Luther and Melanchthon, the two giants of the Reformation, epitomized two points of view on education which, though often complementary, were as frequently at odds in later developments of the Lutheran Church. Luther's emphasis was upon the Bible and God's work in the salvation of man; Melanchthon was concerned with the responsibility of man and intellectual development.[34]

The indebtedness of the Royal Frederick University in Christiania to the German university has been noted. There were the same spiritual and intellectual movements; the curriculum was very similar. It was not surprising, then, that Norwegian university men in America early made contact with German theologians and German Lutheran schools here. The German element was far less foreign to them than the Anglo-Saxon Calvinistic tradition of the "Yankees."

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[33] Lowell C. Green, "Luther and Melanchthon," Ibid., p. 40.

[34] Suspicion of study and learning relative to anything but the Bible has been a frequently occurring problem in Lutheranism from the time of the extreme pietists of Luther's day. Divergenists have frequently been called "Melanchthonists" as a term of derision. In America such a compromise of any of the principles of evangelistic Lutheranism was given the unfortunate title of "American Lutheranism."

The founders of Norwegian Lutheranism in America who were University-trained received their education at a time when rationalism was in decline and religious confessionalism in the ascendancy. The Faculty of Theology in Christiania was perhaps the most influential of the University faculties, as it had been in the German university at the time of Luther. This religious emphasis was to be the focal point in the educational plans in the New World.

However, it would be unfair to picture the studies at the University of Christiania in the nineteenth century as being only of a religious nature. The university candidate was required, for example, to take "second examinations" (_examen_ _philosophicum_) during the first year of his studies, as a preliminary to further specialization in his chosen field. These examinations were supplementary to the Latin school course and covered philosophy and the natural sciences.[35]

The _examen_ _philosophicum_ passed, the student concentrated on theology, philology, medicine or law. There was no tuition except for small matriculation and examination fees.[36] The curriculum consisted of formal lectures, which were open to the public. A student could attend these or not, as he preferred. In addition a program of reading before presentation for the comprehensive examinations was suggested. The usual length of time spent in reading and attending lectures before taking the examinations was five to seven years.[37]

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[35] Karen Larsen, _op_. _cit_., pp. 18, 28.

There were at least two reasons for this. One was the difficulty of the examinations themselves and the ignominy of failure. The examinations were both oral and written, and they usually were given over a period of two weeks.[38]

The second reason for the extended period before taking the examinations was the need for most students to support themselves. Not enough money was usually available from the family of a student to enable him to study without obtaining outside work of some type. For most of the theology students at the era under discussion, this work took the form of teaching for a year or so in a Latin school or tutoring on the side.[39]

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[36] Wiley, _op_. _cit_., p. 251.

[37] Laur. Larsen completed the theological course in three and one-half years (Karen Larsen, _op_. _cit_., p. 31); V. Koren in eight years (with time out for teaching); (O. M. Norlie, _School Calendar 1824-1924_ (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924), 389); J. A. Ottesen in five years, Nils Brandt in five (J. C. Jensson, _American Lutheran Biographies_ (Milwaukee: n.p., 1890), pp. 570, 107.

[38] Personal interview with Dean Einar Molland of the University Faculty of Theology, Oslo, April, 1951.

Student life in Christiania was a full one. There were many outside interests. Students banded together in a student union (Studentersamfundet) which furnished the opportunity for expression of what might be called co-curricular activities. Debating societies, singing groups and literary clubs were popular and did much to develop and influence the ideas of the students.[40]

The period was one of idealistic romanticism and of strong nationalism, of resurgent evangelism and of thorough classical scholarship. There was intense interest in theological discussions attended by professors and students alike. As Karen Larsen commented:

> The decade of the fifties was a fortunate period in which to be a theological student in Norway. At that time there came to the university the culmination and, I think we may say, the blend of those religious currents which had swept rationalism almost out and had again brought to the fore evangelical Lutheranism with much of its original spirit. It was an epoch-making event in the history of the church in Norway when, in the late forties, two young men, Gisle Johnson and Carl Paul Caspari, were added to the theological faculty. Through their influence the last remnant of rationalism disappeared, and a new interest in theological matters was awakened in university circles. Both men were striking personalities and bold, original thinkers. Both were scholarly theologians, orthodox Lutherans in their confession, and at the same time very simple in their faith. ...These two men took turns in gathering theologians, both young and old, in their homes on

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[39] Karen Larsen, op. cit., pp. 21 ff.

[40] Ibid., pp. 22-27.

> Saturday nights. The interest they aroused is also shown by the large attendance at the theological discussions in the union, in which both students and professors took part. Larsen's friend Nils Hertzberg relates that among the topics discussed was the question "whether it is justifiable to become a pastor in the state church." Not a few, among them Johnson, recognized that a state church might be a hindrance, both for the church as a whole and for the individual, in "attaining the evangelical ideal." It is interesting to speculate on how many of the young men who were to become leaders in the establishment of free churches on the frontier in America were present at these discussions. Many of them received their theological training at this time and carried the influence of Johnson and Caspari to lands beyond the sea.[41]

Upon passing the battery of examinations the student was known as cand. theol. (candidatus theologiae), cand. philol. (candidatus philologiae), or cand. juris (candidatus juris).[42] He was then equipped for his life's work. Few attained further degrees.

The "cand. theols.," as they were called, were usually still unable to enter into their life's work, because of the great shortage of pastorates. The state church, which paid all the salaries and determined the openings, permitted only a limited number of pastors. Thus many young ministerial candidates were forced to take other positions, usually as teachers.

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[41] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[42] Cf. Hove, op. cit., p. 58.

This was no reflection upon the quality of the university graduates. Most of those who later came to America graduated with honors.[43] Older pastors had, however, virtual sinecures which they held until death. Parishes were extremely large, and the state did nothing to divide them.

Karen Larsen has described her father's career thus:

> When Larsen had taken his examinations and become a theological candidate, there was practically no chance of obtaining a pastorate in the immediate future, for the number of candidates exceeded the vacancies by about three hundred. So, like most of his classmates, he had to find some way of making a living while waiting for an opportunity to enter his chosen profession. As he liked teaching, and had gained considerable experience while still a student, he naturally continued in that work. He had already won some recognition as a painstaking and conscientious teacher. His recommendations emphasize his thorough knowledge, his unusual teaching ability, and his power to win the affection of his pupils. Yet he continued for two years to teach a few hours in several schools and to give private tutoring. As he lived beyond what were then the limits of Kristiania and had to walk to his various appointments in different parts of the city, his work was no sinecure, and the income it yielded was meager indeed. He thought of opening an elementary school for girls, and wrote out in full his plans and hopes for such an undertaking. "I have, to be sure," he writes, "taught only for a short time in a school for girls, and most of my private pupils have been boys, but I am anxious to teach girls, and I am confident that if I am capable of instructing boys, I can succeed with little girls as

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[43] Jensson, _op_. _cit_., pp. 98 _et seq_.

well." These plans, however, came to nothing and he continued as before.[44]

Examination of the biographies of the pioneers among the Norwegian-American clergy revealed a striking similarity in experience. Virtually all of them became teachers, either during the course of their university studies or immediately afterwards, because of the lack of available positions as pastors. The extent to which this was true was indicated in that several of them (for example, U. V. Koren, H. A. Preus, J. A. Ottesen, Georg Sverdrup) taught in the same school in Christiania. This was the famous Nissen's Latin School. While this school was built on the Latin school tradition, its founder, Ole H. Nissen, was a leading educator with somewhat progressive ideas. He has been named "the Horace Mann of Norway."[45] This schoolman's views were undoubtedly an important factor in forming the educational ideas of these future Norwegian-American educators. The colleges they founded were at first essentially the Latin schools of Norway that they had experienced.

Since there were scarcely any opportunity in Norway for young pastors, it was probably not missionary zeal alone which drove them to emigrate to America. As economic considerations were the basic reason for so much of the lay migration to America, so also economic pressures influenced the young ministerial candidates who came.

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[44] Karen Larsen, op. cit., p. 31.

[45] David T. Nelson, "History of Luther College" (ms. notes for an unpublished book, Decorah, Iowa, 1960), n.p.

In general, clerical circles were against the migration of Norwegians to America. But young pastors, unable to get a call to a congregation in Norway, might possibly use a sojourn in America as a stepping-stone to a better position back home. Luther's own belief that to be a pastor was the highest and best possible calling has played a role for centuries in making theologians impatient with any other profession, even teaching. Teaching, of course, was next best, but still Luther implied a hierarchy in Christian service when he said

> ...If I could leave the preaching office... or had to do so, /I/ would not be so glad to have any other work as that of schoolmaster..., for I know that this is the most useful, the greatest, and the best, next to the work of preaching.[46]

This hierarchy was, at least in part, accepted by clergy and laity alike.

It was, then, understandable that the young "cand. theols." wanted to enter into their vocations as soon as possible. The only openings seemed to lie in the far northern, Arctic provinces of Norway or in America. U. V. Koren wrote of his attitude:

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[46] Luther, "Sermon on Keeping Children in School," pp. 173-174.

> Where should I now turn to find that work for which I longed? I was a theological candidate and teacher at Nissen's Latin School. Should I go on being a teacher for years? What then would become of my spiritual mission out in the wide world? My attitude towards America at that time was one of complete indifference, even after I had by chance seen in the newspapers that there was a need for pastors among the immigrants there, and notwithstanding the fact that I of course knew that two or three of my fellow classmates had just recently gone over there.[47]

Laur. Larsen later explained his decision to travel to America thus:

> From my childhood on,...I had planned to be a pastor; but to go to America I looked upon as almost a betrayal of my country, and I thought seriously of seeking the call to Maasø, which is up near the North Cape. But then all at once six calls for pastors in America were being advertised as vacant, and moreover my hopes concerning a desired teaching position in the summer of 1857 came to naught, and so I decided to accept, in the same fall, one of the calls in America, and on the strength of that was ordained the 23rd of September, 1857....[48]

Summary

Norwegians of the nineteenth century were educated in a period of national resurgence. Divisions between the farmers and the official class were marked. The intelligentsia and especially the clergy, who were civil servants, defended entrenched class positions but increasingly were forced to give ground to the democratic spirit engendered by Norway's political and social reawakening.

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[47] Koren, op. cit., p. 17.

[48] Laur. Larsen, "Atter nogle gamle minder," p. 243.

Theological movements led by Hauge, Grundtvig, and Gisle Johnson introduced varying emphases within the Lutheran Church. "Pietism" and "Pure Doctrine," as opposing tendencies, were carried with those who emigrated to America.

Education in Norway, a legacy of the Lutheran Reformation, made Norway a literate country. The privilege of an advanced education, however, was reserved for the upper classes. The Latin Schools and the State University of Norway, the Royal Frederick University, served as the patterns for early educators in establishing their own institutions in America.

The Norwegian immigrant was thus a product of conditions and impulses which prevailed in his native country when he emigrated. In the new and often alien land of his adoption he clung all the more tenaciously to his intellectual, cultural, and religious heritage.

CHAPTER IV

NORWEGIAN LUTHERANISM CROSSES THE OCEAN

The social, political, religious and educational milieux from which the nineteenth-century immigrants from Norway came formed their frame of reference in determining the path that they chose in America. Almost immediately, the divergent elements which had so frequently been in opposition in Norway became apparent on American soil. Each point of view sought to preserve its ideology. The immigrant soon learned that he had to rely upon his own resources rather than upon Mother Norway. This meant that he had to seek some way of preserving and supporting that part of his Norwegian and/or Lutheran heritage which he wanted most to cherish. It was not surprising that the agencies chosen to preserve this heritage were the Church and education. This chapter sketches the immigration of Norwegians and portrays the work of three men who represented three aspects of Norwegian church life and educational work in America.

Immigration

The modern migration from Norway to America had its beginning in 1825. In that year the sloop Restaurationen, which has been called the Norwegian Mayflower, arrived in New York carrying a total of fifty-two persons.[1] Strangely enough for Lutheran Norway, the leader and a number of passengers were Quakers. This was accounted for by the fact that some Norwegians had been incarcerated by the British during the Napoleonic Wars. The humanitarian Quakers had befriended the prisoners, and the Society of Friends had thus gained some strength in Norway, particularly in the environs of Stavanger. These first immigrants from Norway to America probably left their native country because of religious persecution.[2] They were to be of the very few who emigrated for this reason.

Principally the emigration from Norway took place because of economic reasons.[3] Norway was not then and still has not a land of great economic opportunity. Tillable land was scarce, and a primogeniture law made its possession almost impossible for thousands of younger sons. Countless husmenn, or tenant farmers, also sought a better livelihood in America.[4]

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[1] The story of the Restaurationen has often been told. Two of the best and most comprehensive accounts were Rasmus B. Anderson, The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840) (Madison, Wisconsin: Published by the author, 1896), and Blegen, op. cit., pp. 24-56.

[2] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., p. 48.

[3] Ingrid Semmingsen, Veien Mot Vest (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931), I, 435.

[4] For a complete and documented account of the reasons for Norwegian emigration see Blegen, op. cit., I, 154-176.

A great number of early visitors to America wrote enthusiastic reports about the opportunities offered in the New World. Among these should be mentioned Ole Rynning's True Account of America (1838) and Ole Nattestad's Description of a Journey to North America (1839). Brochures, pamphlets, and especially Amerika brev, letters from America, created a burst of enthusiasm for emigration. Ole Bull, Norway's great violinist, and incidentally the musician in Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn, played his violin to huge and wildly excited crowds in Norway and encouraged them to settle in his "Oleana" paradise in the New World.[5]

Immigration from Norway, begun as a modest trickle in 1825, soon increased to a flood. One estimate of the number who immigrated during the hundred years following the Restauration gave three quarters of a million.[6] So numerous were the emigrants in comparison to Norway's total population that scarcely a family was to be found in Norway that did not have at least one relative in America. Immigration came in three great waves: in the post-Civil War era (1866-1874), in the decade of the eighties, and in the first years of the twentieth century.[7] These peaks of immigration depended upon economic conditions in Norway and political conditions in America.

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[5] Oleana, a colonization project in Pennsylvania, constituted an extremely interesting vignette of American history. The colony, founded in 1852, was the impractical dream of a visionary and doomed to failure. It illustrated well, however, the Amerika feber (America fever) which swept through Norway. For accounts of Oleana see Blegen, op. cit., I, 287-307, as well as Torstein Jahr, "Oleana--Et blad av Ole Bulls og den norske indvandrings historie," Symra, VI (1910), 3-37; 129-162; 195-216.

[6] Blegen, op. cit., I, 24.

As has been indicated, it was the underprivileged, the "have nots," and the least educated who came in the greatest numbers. The intelligentsia, the economically secure, and to a large degree the Church, were violently opposed to emigration as "a national catastrophe, a traitorous desertion of the fatherland."[8] Wergeland, the great poet-patriot of Norway, wrote:

> It is the most dangerous disease of our time, a bleeding of the Fatherland, a true frenzy, because those whom it seizes follow neither their own nor other's reason, disdain arguments and examples, give up the present for a still more threatening, dark future, and let themselves be driven by it into the vortex of that future's unknown sufferings.[9]

J. W. C. Dietrichson spoke for the clergy:

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[7] Carlton Qualey, Norwegian Settlement in the United States (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Assn., 1938), p. 5. Cf. also Semmingsen, op. cit., I, 241.

[8] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 51.

[9] Hendrik Wergeland, "Om Udvandrings-Raseriet," For Arbeidsklassen, February 6, 1843, quoted by Blegen, op. cit., I, 155.

> ...for where can the Christian life be better developed than in the peaceful, dear fatherland!...for where is there a more law-bound liberty than in fortunate Norway!...for where will the Lord, to whom the silver and the gold belong, bless your industry more than in that circle where He has placed you![10]

Despite dire warnings the pioneers came and pushed westward. Kendall Settlement, New York, was settled in 1825, Jefferson Prairie and Muskego, Wisconsin, as well as Fox River, Illinois, in 1839; Koshkonong, Wisconsin, the year following. These were early and significant names in Norwegian immigration history. The Norwegian settlements had taken root. They were to be largely rural, midwestern communities set apart from other nationality groupings--Norwegian islands in a foreign sea.

Among the pioneers the Lutheran heritage was strong. Norwegians, especially the group who came to America, may have disagreed with what the state church represented, but they were not separatists. In spite of the missionary zeal of "American churches" such as the Methodists, the Baptists and the Mormons, converts were relatively few.[11]

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[10] J. W. C. Dietrichson, letter dated December 28, 1844, in Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis, April 10, 1845, quoted by Blegen, op. cit., I, 155-156.

[11] For a comprehensive treatment of this phase in the history of the Norwegian church see Blegen, op. cit., II, 131-174; Rohne, op. cit., pp. 21-42; and O. M. Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925), pp. 210-213.

There were no ordained pastors among the early settlers in America. The immigrants brought with them a strong Hauge tradition rather than the state church element. They were accustomed to "lay" meetings and in some ways considered themselves self-sufficient in religious matters. The Bible, Pontoppidan's Explanation (Truth Unto Godliness), and Luther's Catechism were familiar and treasured possessions of almost every immigrant.

Even though the clergy was not represented among the first pioneers, however, the immigrants were Lutherans and as followers of Hauge had never broken with the church nor denied the right and duty of the clergy to perform ministerial acts.[12] A few Norwegians gave in to "Americanism" and became members of what staunch Lutherans disdainfully called "the sects," but the majority were quite ready for leadership and even domination by the church that had become such an important part of their lives.

Elling Eielsen and the First Schools

It was not surprising that the first great leader to rally the Norwegian immigrants around the tradition and faith of their native country was one of their own, a layman. His name was Elling Eielsen (1804-1883). This tireless, fervent evangelist, lacking the complete education of a minister, unordained and steeped in Hauge's teachings, became one of the potent forces in establishing the Lutheran Church in America.[13]

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[12] See the treatment of Hauge above, Chapter III, pp. 67-70.

With his lay background, Eielsen was not at first disposed to see any great value in higher education. Reading and memorization of the basic documents of Lutheranism were regarded as sufficient. For one who had such a "low church" point of view, however, Eielsen did much to further the cause of education among his countrymen.

Anxious that Pontoppidan's Explanation be in the hands of all Norwegians as a defense against the inroads of the "sects," Eielsen walked the distance from Rock County, Wisconsin, to New York City, to have copies of this book printed in the Norwegian Gothic script. When he found that he could not have this done in New York, the intrepid evangelist accomplished his purpose after walking to Philadelphia. Another walking trip to New York, in 1842, had as its purpose the printing in English of Luther's Small Catechism. Thus the trips resulted in the first publications by a Norwegian-American in America.

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[13] Informative accounts of Eielsen's career were found in Laurence M. Larson, The Changing West (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1937), pp. 157-170; C. J. Carlsen, "Elling Eielsen, Pioneer Lay Preacher and First Norwegian Lutheran Pastor in America" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1932), pp. 18 ff.

As time went on, even this evangelistic preacher felt the need of having an ordained ministry. His rather unwilling recognition of the authority of the trained clergy led Eielsen to seek ordination for himself and forced him to think seriously of the proper training for those who were to be the "called" ministers. Eielsen was examined and ordained, under circumstances not wholly satisfactory to many of his constituency. Nevertheless, by submitting to the ordination procedure, he helped to do some of the groundwork in preparing the Norwegian immigrants to depend upon themselves for the proper training of their ministers.

First attempts at founding institutions of higher learning. Elling Eielsen had founded the first synod among Norwegian Lutherans in 1846. In 1854 three Haugeans met to found the first Norwegian institution of higher education in America--the Seminary at Lisbon, Illinois. The account of this historic meeting has rather recently been discovered (1929).[14] The document was interesting in that it showed that, despite the Haugean anti-intellectual prejudice, the immigrants had recognized the need for a trained clergy. The meeting in 1854 was of further interest in that the proposed curriculum for the new Seminary was spelled out in some detail. The course of study was rather simple and not the typical classical program of the university-trained clergy. The languages, so much a part of the educational system of all Lutheran institutions from the time of Luther, were given little place. Undoubtedly this was to be expected from untrained men interested in practical theology. A translation of a part of the proceedings of the 1854 meeting, dealing specifically with education, read:

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[14] J. Magnus Rohne, ed. and trans., "Report of the Annual Meeting of the Haugean Churches Held at Lisbon, Illinois, in June, 1854," Studies and Records, IV (1929), 15-42.

> The president [Elling Eielsen] now moved that a seminary be erected where young men who are gifted and Christian-minded could be trained to be parochial teachers as well as preachers, and where they could receive instruction in the branches most necessary for the proper performance of these offices. P. A. Rasmussen seconded this motion, and added a few remarks about the subjects which ought to be taught; namely, clear and distinct reading thorough drill in spelling, arithmetic, writing, rhetoric, Norwegian grammar, German, English, singing, Bible history, church history, dogmatics or Christian doctrine, a thorough acquaintance with the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church--to wit: the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, besides the *Formula of Concord*,--Lutheran symbolics, pastoral theology, exegesis or Bible interpretation, catechetics, or training in catechizing, and so forth. All saw the necessity of establishing such an institution in our own midst for the maintenance of the pure and sound doctrine in this country; wherefore this motion was also unanimously passed.[15]

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

P. A. Rasmussen, later to figure prominently in various synods, became the professor-elect of the Lisbon school. Instruction began in October, 1855. The seminary remained open, however, only until May 1, 1856, when Rasmussen withdrew from Eielsen's synod.[16]

Eielsen's next educational venture was in 1864. At the synod meeting of that year the following resolution prepared the way: "A laereanstalt (institution of learning) will be founded in our synod."[17]

A Norwegian candidate in theology, Andreas Asserød, was imported and began teaching in the fall of 1865. Rohne stated that there were about twenty students who received instruction in religion, Norwegian and English grammar, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, German and Latin.[18]

Latin and German were probably included by Aaserød as a result of his own training in Norway. In other respects the curriculum had the practical emphasis.

Aaserød resigned at the end of two years, and a suitable successor could not be found. The position was doubtless untenable for a man with Aaserød's background and intellectual interests.

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[16] N. N. Rønning, "Norsk-amerikanske skoler: I. Red Wing Seminar--Hauges synodes college og presteskole," Symra, VI (February, 1910), 41. Cf. also Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism,..., p. 186.

[17] Rønning, op. cit., p. 41.

[18] Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism..., pp. 186-187.

> The whole field of higher education was outside of the realm of their experience, and it was not so strange that they should make impossible demands of their principal and set up impossible educational ideals. At best, the leaders who had interest in education were not many in number.

> Throughout Eielsen's Synod there had been a persistent propaganda against the educated State Church clergy, and Eielsen was reaping what he had sowed.[19]

Perhaps the most ambitious undertaking by Eielsen was "Hauge's College and Eielsen's Seminary," whose cornerstone was laid in Chicago in 1871. The great fire in Chicago and a misunderstanding about the ownership and support of the institution contributed to its collapse in 1877.

> Seven years had thus been consumed in which no substantial progress had been made in the building project, and only a very little class instruction had been given.[20]

All of Eielsen's attempts at founding schools for the preparation of pastors ended in failure. His real strength lay in rallying the people around their religious heritage, not in the perpetuation of religious leadership through education.

One other attempt by Norwegians to train their own ministers should be mentioned. Two young associates of Eielsen in his early days in America, Paul Andersen and Ole Andrewson, sought to accomplish the education of pastors by affiliating with Lutherans of different national backgrounds and by taking steps toward active association with Americans. Andersen, after securing an education at Beloit College, a Congregationalist school in Wisconsin, was ordained by the Franckean Synod.[21] This particular synod increasingly became anathema to most Lutherans as representing "Americanism" and not being doctrinally sound.

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[19] _Ibid_., p. 187.

[20] _Ibid_., p. 189. Cf. also the account of Eielsen's Chicago school venture in Rønning, _op_. _cit_., pp. 41-44.

Later Andersen and Andrewson joined with Swedish leaders and other more Americanized Lutherans to form the Northern Illinois Synod.[22] This synod established (1858) an institution of higher learning in Springfield, Illinois, for the principal purpose of preparing ministers. The institution was given the ambitious title of Illinois State University.[23] It was not, however, a state university in any modern sense, but a Lutheran academy, college, and seminary. Its name illustrated the confusion Scandinavians had as to what constituted a university or college.[24]

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[21] A liberal Lutheran Synod founded in 1837 in Western New York. It rejected the Augsburg Confession and was violently anti-slavery in later years. See Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), pp. 141 et seqq.

[22] Ibid., p. 125. Cf. also George M. Stephenson, The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850-1860 (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927), pp. 17-18.

[23] Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 35 et seqq.

The Scandinavians were not satisfied that the school was as orthodox in its Lutheranism as it should be. They soon left (1860) to form the Augustana Synod, destined to be the only Lutheran group among Swedish-Americans.

Independent and uncompromising in every way, Elling Eielsen made many enemies. Some of those who rejected his leadership, though not the principles of Hans Nielsen Hauge, left Eielsen to found the Hauge Synod. These Haugeans, despite their natural suspicion of the intellectual and "worldly" nature of education, nevertheless saw the necessity of training pastors. They succeeded in establishing a school at Red Wing, Minnesota, in 1879, which endured for more than forty years[25] and which played its significant part in higher education among Norwegian Lutherans.

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[24] Two rather interesting sidelights should be told about the Illinois State University. First, a Scandinavian professorship was established with a sum received from Jenny Lind. Secondly, the school was attended (1853-59) by Robert Lincoln, son of the president of the United States. Cf. Stephenson, _op_. _cit_., p. 42; Norlie, _History_..., p. 217.

[25] The academy (four years) and seminary (three years) were incorporated into other institutions at the time of the church merger in 1917. Other departments (that is, music, art, commerce, a Bible school) were expanded and continued until the great depression of the 1930's.

Red Wing Seminary. The educational program established at Red Wing Seminary reflected the "low church" approach. There was a marked contrast to the classical curriculum of Luther College, for example. Luther College was founded in 1861 and supported by men trained at the University of Christiania. The story of Luther College will be found in a later chapter. The following translation of N. N. Rønning's account of Red Wing Seminary gave a careful picture of the central aims and curriculum of Haugean education:

> There are especially two distinctive features at Red Wing Seminary. The one is the rigid control the congregations of the church have practiced over the school and especially in the election of teachers and--by means of the school direction--over the admission of students in the theological department. The other is an almost unique practical course of study in the so-called preparatory division, which now consists of a three-year academy and a four-year college. It is natural that a church which, as far back as 1854, has sacrificed so much in order to establish a school for the preparation of ministers, requires of its theological instructors and prospective pastors complete sympathy with the frame of reference (turn of mind) which the school was founded in order to preserve and carry on among the Norwegian-American church people. Just as natural it is that the course of study should be practical, and the dead languages should receive quite a subordinate place. Latin is studied for only one year. One may avoid studying Greek by studying French. If one wishes one may study Greek for four years. History is studied for four years, Norwegian four years, German four and a half years, mathematics five years, religion five years, English seven years. No less than thirteen different courses in English

> language and literature are covered. Astronomy, botany, chemistry, physics, psychology, pedagogy, philosophy, ethics, sociology and economics have taken the place held by the dead languages in many other schools. The object of such an up-to-date course of study is to educate men who can go out into the world not only as educated men but as capable men.[26]

The fear of learning for learning's sake was well illustrated by the following incident related by Rønning in his Fifty Years in America:

> At a convention of the Hauge's Synod a motion had been made that another year of Latin should be added to the curriculum. I don't know if Brohough [one of Red Wing's professors] had ever before spoken at a convention. Now he asked for the floor. He strode to the platform. I remember his last sentence: "Naar humanismen træder ind ad en dør, gaar haugianismen med bøiet hoved ud en anden dør" ("When humanism enters one door, Haugeanism leaves with bowed head through another door"). When the fathers in the Synod heard it was that dangerous to add another year of Latin, they would not be guilty of anything like that.[27]

Claus Laurits Clausen and the Middle Way

Elling Eielsen had worked among his countrymen in America for about two years when Claus Laurits Clausen arrived to take up the same task (1843). Clausen, a Dane, had also been influenced by Hauge and Grundtvig.[28]

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[26] Rønning, op. cit., p. 48.

[27] N. N. Rønning, Fifty Years in America (Minneapolis: The Friend Publishing Company, 1938). pp. 42-43.

[28] Svein Strand, "Pastor C. L. Clausen," Symra, IX (October, 1913), p. 206, 208.

Clausen had much in common with Eielsen.

> Both were gifted and capable men, and both worked with sacrificial zeal for the spiritual well-being of their fellow men. They also had in common to a striking degree the aptitude of being men of the people. Neither had taken examinations at either higher schools or the university, and both had grown up in rural areas among farmers.[29]

But there were vast differences between the men:

> Eielsen, a resolute, hardy Vossing [native of Voss in Western Norway] was not disposed to favor ministers, the state church and all that which smacked of higher culture and refined living. Clausen, on the other hand, was at home in this environment. As the son of a highly regarded merchant, as a private tutor and a clerk at one of the large manorial estates, as a beloved child in his pastor's home, and as one who had established acquaintance with rich and established families both in Norway and Denmark; he had dedicated himself to that cultural way of life and that considerate and cordial, accommodating conduct which made him so well thought of by all those with whom he came in contact.[30]

Clausen has been called "the broad churchman." He had come originally to teach among the Norwegian-Americans but was soon asked to perform the role of pastor. As such he early became embroiled in religious controversies. Clausen, as was noted above, was a man of the people, but he did not have Eielsen's fear of intellectual pursuits and state church forms and methods.

> He chanted, used a robe and pastoral collar, had the church assistant read the opening and closing prayers, practiced the laying-on of

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[29] Ibid., p. 209.

[30] Ibid., p. 210.

> hands during the confession; in brief carried out in every particular the old world church procedure on American soil.[31]

Although he arrived in America as a layman and teacher, Clausen sought ordination and was especially careful that this ordination should be legitimate in every way.[32]

A full account of the activities of Pastor Clausen would be too lengthy for the present writing. A sketchy list might, however, serve to indicate something of the conditions of the pioneer times in which he lived, as well as give a picture of the man himself.

Clausen built the Muskego, Wisconsin, church, the oldest Norwegian Lutheran church in America.[33] He was the first editor of the influential Norwegian-American newspaper Emigranten. This newspaper was often at odds with Lutheran pastors over the school question, slavery, and other matters. An active journalist, he was also associated with Kirkelig Maanedstidende, a church paper.

With two other pastors Clausen formed the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America in 1851 and was its president for two years. In 1853 he was one of six to found the Norwegian Synod, the conservative group which was to build Luther College. One of the organizers also of the Norwegian-Danish Conference in 1870 and of the United Lutheran Church in 1890, Clausen was president of the former body in 1870-71.[34]

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[31] *Ibid*., p. 211.

[32] Margrethe Jorgensen, "Claus L. Clausen, Pioneer Pastor and Settlement Promoter, 1843-1868" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1930), p. 29.

[33] The church building, built in 1845, is now a part of the Museum at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

As a pastor Clausen traveled extensively. He was a pastor at Muskego, Wisconsin, Koshkonong, Wisconsin, Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, St. Ansgar, Iowa, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Blooming Prairie, Minnesota, and Austin, Minnesota. A member of the Iowa State Legislature, Commissioner of Immigration and organizer of several pioneer colonies, army chaplain during the Civil War--the man's capacity for work seemed inexhaustible, although he was in constant ill health.[35]

Clausen was trained as a teacher and devoted much of his limited time to education. As one of the founders of the Norwegian Synod, he helped advance the cause of church-controlled education by aiding in the founding and administration of Luther College. Simultaneously he advocated contact with American institutions and was at one time president of a Lutheran Education Society. The purpose of this organization was "to establish Norwegian professorships in American colleges."[36] Such a concept was diametrically opposed to the position of the Norwegian clergy, who desired above all to be self-sufficient in educational matters.

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[34] Norlie, School Calendar..., p. 127.

[35] Loc. cit.

[36] Skandinaven, April 21 and May 12, 1869.

Not as erudite nor as skilled in dialectics as the highly-trained University of Christiania men, Clausen instinctively defended causes with which the immigrant laymen were in sympathy. He thus helped bridge the gap between high and low church, layman and clergy, Norwegian immigrant and native "Yankee."

J. W. C. Dietrichson--the Church Entrenches Itself

The coming of J. W. C. Dietrichson to America in 1844 resulted in the first serious attempt to establish the authority of the state church of Norway on American soil. It also led to quarreling and dissention among the immigrants as they aligned themselves along divergent sides of the several issues.

Dietrichson had expressed himself in opposition to emigration from Norway.[37] In this he sided with the majority among his fellow theologians. Far from condoning their countrymen who had chosen the New World, most of the Norwegian clergy looked askance at their actions, and some pastors even suggested that "no great harm would result if the emigrants suffered from their self-willed acts."[38]

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[37] Supra, pp. 96-97. Cf. also Dietrichson, Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i "De forenede nordamerikanske Fristater" (Madison, Wis.: "Amerika's"Bogtrykkeri, 1896), p. 114.

Dietrichson had graduated from the University of Christiania with honors in 1837. As he was one of many theological candidates unable to find positions as pastors,[39] he was a tutor in Tønsberg for a time before returning to Christiania. Here he and some friends organized a private school and taught in it. In 1843,

> ...by the urgent request of Christian brethren, and with the promise of partial support, he determined, after mature deliberation, to visit his countrymen in North America, for the purpose of breaking to them the bread of life. Accordingly he received holy ordination in Oslo Church on the 23rd of February, 1844,...[40]

The young pastor thus came to America without a specific call from a congregation. Perhaps his trip would be termed a "missionary journey." His zeal and skill at organization were great, and within a few months of his arrival he had organized two congregations. From these congregations Dietrichson received a formal call in 1845. He accepted.

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[38] Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism..., p. 64.

[39] For the reasons for this see Chapter III, pp. 88-91.

[40] Jensson, op. cit., p. 163. See also Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism..., p. 66.

Dietrichson's outlook in religious affairs was diametrically opposed to all the low church emphases of Eielsen.

> What Dietrichson represented was a social and religious milieu which the settlers deeply resented. Dietrichson was an aristocrat, the son of an upper-class military family, and as such a reminder of the deep cleavage in Norwegian society. He was from those on the upper side of the cleft; they, the immigrants, sons and daughters of fishermen and farmers, were from the lower side. Moreover, Dietrichson was a symbol of the Church of Norway; he was a university-trained, episcopally-ordained, high-church divine. When this man strode into the comparative quiet of Muskego, it seemed as though the cultural dichotomy of Norway had been transferred to the democratic atmosphere of America. The immigrants thought they had rid themselves of it by crossing the sea. But now, once again the old-country caste system came to their minds, brought there by a preacher who stood in their midst![41]

Dietrichson, "an aristocrat of the aristocrats, both as to family and temperament,"[42] organized the church in the pioneer settlements along Old World lines. His despotic ways were not unopposed, but his very efficiency merited respect. Whipped into line, congregations subscribed to a pledge that left no doubt as to who was in charge.

> 1. Do you desire to become a member of the Norwegian Lutheran congregation at this place?
> 2. Will you to that end subject yourself to the church order that the Ritual of the Church of Norway prescribes?

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[41] Nelson and Fevold, *op. cit.*, I, 97.

[42] Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism...*, p. 67.

> 3. Will you promise that you shall not call or accept any other minister and pastor than such as can clearly establish according to the Norwegian Lutheran Church Order that he is a regularly called and rightly consecrated pastor? And will you show the pastor thus called by you and the congregation to spiritual rulership the attention and obedience that a member of a congregation owes his pastor in all things that he requires and does according to the Ritual of the Church of Norway?
>
> 4. Will you, by signing your name or by permitting it to be signed, here make acknowledgment that you have joined the congregation on the above-named conditions?[43]

Dietrichson traveled widely on the Midwestern frontier. He preached at Muskego, Koshkonong, Spring Prairie, the New Wisconsin settlements, and established congregations there and elsewhere. Oblivious to America and American ways, Dietrichson conducted himself exactly as he would have in Norway.[44]

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[43] Dietrichson, *op. cit.*, p. 45 (translated by Rohne). *The Journey Among the Norwegian Emigrants in "the United North American Free States"* was one of the best sources on immigrant life during the forties. It also showed much about Dietrichson himself and what to expect of the ordained churchmen who were soon to follow his lead in emigrating to America.

[44] An interesting anecdote was related by Dietrichson himself (*Reise blandt de Norske Emigranter*...) and sometimes less sympathetically by others (R. B. Anderson, *Life Story* (Madison, Wis.: n.p., 1915) and H. R. Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie* (Ephraim, Wis.: Trykt paa Forfatterens Forlag, 1918)). An incorrigible pioneer, Halvor Christian Pedersen Funklien by name, was excommunicated by Dietrichson as a "drinker, brawler, and scoffer." Funklien could return to church only on condition that he sit in an assigned pew. When he defiantly chose his own pew and, according to legend, drank repeatedly from a whisky bottle during the sermon, three deacons threw him out. The case was taken to an American court where, according to one version, Dietrichson was fined ten dollars and costs.

Dietrichson's highhanded ways antagonized the members of his congregations, who saw in their pastor all the dictatorial aristocracy they had resented so much in the homeland. After considerable feuding Dietrichson resigned and returned to Norway in 1850. Before he left, however, he had made yet another significant contribution to the church in America. He had drafted a synodical constitution which, in slightly altered form, was to become the basis of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (the Norwegian Synod), organized in 1853.[45]

Norwegian Lutheran pastors have traditionally been very much concerned about having a proper "call" from a congregation. They may not be ordained until they have accepted such a call. Because of Dietrichson's work, there were in America a number of established congregations which sent calls to Norway for pastors. As there was a surplus of pastors in Norway at this time, energetic young university graduates arrived to cultivate the seed which Dietrichson had sown.

A leader with a most compelling personality, Dietrichson had won the support of Clausen. The two had conferred about the possibility of establishing a theological seminary but had agreed that this must await a proper synodical organization.[46] Dietrichson also reminded laymen of their duty to the established Church of Norway. The like-minded and similarly-prepared clergy who followed found an organization upon which they could build a church and the institutions to support it.

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[45] Nelson and Fevold, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Summary

All the varying elements which comprised the Norwegian Lutheran Church were found in the three men whom Nelson and Fevold have called "Elling Eielsen, Evangelist," "C. L. Clausen, Pastor," and "J. W. C. Dietrichson, Churchman."[47] The three were alike in being Lutherans but represented varying emphases of Lutheranism. Eielsen, the stubborn individualist, represented the independent and practical-minded laymen in mind and spirit. In religion this meant a pietistic "living Christianity" outlook. In education it meant a fear of intellectualism, a tendency to think of education for its useful purposes, and an inclination to associate freely with American institutions. At the opposite pole was Dietrichson, the churchman. He represented authority, aristocracy, and Old World order. Highly trained and extremely self-sufficient, this right-wing extremist sought to re-impose the control of the Norwegian Church on the immigrants on American soil. In religion this meant greater concern for doctrine--what the church fathers called "Den Rene Laere" ("the Pure Doctrine"). In education it meant classical education built upon the educational standards of Lutheran Norway. Association with America and American institutions was at a minimum, undoubtedly because men like Dietrichson were so confident of their own tradition.

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[46] Ibid., p. 152.

[47] Ibid., pp. 71, 82, 96. (Chapter headings.)

Between these two men stood Clausen. Clausen had much of the background of Eielsen without the latter's intransigence. Like Eielsen, he understood instinctively the layman's sympathy toward democracy as a way of life. At the same time he could appreciate the State Church point of view and was more in sympathy with education _per se_. This broad viewpoint and sometimes vacillating spirit brought Clausen into contact with all the varying ideologies within the church.

Thus was Norwegian Lutheranism implanted on American soil.

CHAPTER V

THE CLERGY AND THE LAITY

During the decade preceding the Civil War Norwegian Lutheranism had established itself on American soil. The lines were clearly drawn between the low-church, Haugean approach of Eielsen and the high-church approach of university-trained men. The high church group made the first really successful attempt at higher education by Norwegian immigrants. Synods of varying emphases were established from 1850-1860. Of these the Norwegian Synod, the synod of the churchmen, was particularly concerned that its ministry be properly trained and ordained.

> In few things were the differences between the Synod and the other bodies so markedly contrasted as in the matter of schools. Schools were placed first on the Synod's program, with home-missions among their countrymen in America second, and foreign missions third. The other two [Eielsen's and the Scandinavian Augustana synods] concentrated their interests in a sliding scale on home missions, foreign missions, and schools.[1]

Highly organized, convinced of its orthodoxy, and confident of its superiority on training and education, the Norwegian Synod set about to assume its accustomed role of leadership in America. It is of this group and the inevitable clashes with those who held low church sympathies that this chapter deals.

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[1] Rohne, Norwegian American Lutheranism..., p. 183.

The Norwegian Synod

The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, popularly known as the Norwegian Synod or simply "the Synod," was successfully launched in October, 1853. The work of men who were in sympathy with the polity and practice of the Church of Norway, this "high church" organization did not emerge full-blown. Only after several preliminary meetings was Grundtvigianism purged and clerical control assured.

The first step towards organizing congregations was taken in 1851 by two university-trained pastors, newly arrived from Norway. The two, Adolph Carl Preus and Hans Andreas Stub, were aided and supported by C. L. Clausen.[2] At their first official meeting, held at Luther Valley, Wisconsin, January 5-9, 1851, the three pastors adopted a constitution, "unquestionably the same document prepared by Dietrichson before his return to Norway."[3]

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[2] See Chapter IV, p. 109. The three pastors also inaugurated a church paper, Maanedstidende (Monthly Times). This periodical became an organ of the church and recorded its important events. It is also one of the best sources for information on the educational plans of the churchmen. The first issue, March 1851, reported the meeting described above.

[3] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 152.

The name for the new church, "The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America," clearly showed the orientation of the clergy. There was, however, already some suspicion of clericalism expressed by lay delegates at the meeting. This was supported to some extent by Clausen.[4]

Three new pastors from Norway who arrived shortly after the Luther Valley meeting strengthened the clerical control of the new church even more. These university men, in order of their arrival, were G. F. Dietrichson (a cousin of J. W. C. Dietrichson's father), H. A. Preus, and Nils Brandt. Of these men, the acknowledged leader of the Synod for the next generation was H. A. Preus. He was "orthodox to the fingertips,"[5] faithful to the teachings of Lutheranism and concerned that its purity of doctrine be maintained.

A meeting attended by the second triumvirate in Muskego, Wisconsin, in February, 1852, suggested "a review of the Constitution adopted in 1851."[6] The clergy was tightening the reins of leadership.

Subsequent meetings culminating in the October 3-7,

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[4] Ibid., p. 154.

[5] J. A. Bergh, Den norsk lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1914), p. 80.

[6] Maanedstidende, II (April 1852), 6.

1853, session at Luther Valley, Wisconsin, which formulated the Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, as its altered name read, saw the withdrawal of Clausen, the election of H. A. Preus as president, and the organization of a rigidly controlled church. Laymen were represented and revealed some of their inherent suspicion of the clergy, but the authority and control belonged to the university-trained ministry.

> ...it should be noted that the constitution weighted the balances in favor of the synod rather than the congregations. The relation of the congregations to the synod and the church council is to be explained as a reflection of the polity of the Church of Norway with its emphasis on government from above. Quite naturally men reared in that tradition and trained in the theological faculty of the royal university would represent that point of view even amidst the free and democratic circumstances of the New World. This and other shortcomings were recognized in the constitutional revisions of 1867-68 and 1874-76, but, by and large, the polity of 1853 continued to be the frame in which the work of the Synod was to be done for the next sixty-four years. The object of the original framers--to combine the familiar Old World beliefs and practices as expressed in the Church of Norway with the development of a well-ordered, free church on American soil--was remarkably articulated and carefully provided for in the ecclesiastical enactments of Luther Valley, 1853.[7]

From the first, the Synod leaders were aware that they could not rely on Norway for the trained clergy required by the expanding church in America. Confident

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[7] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., pp. 160-161.

in the competence of their own training, they were not prepared to compromise by lowering standards for entrance into the ministry. Much of the New World was entirely foreign in language, tradition, and religion, but there was one segment of the American settlement with which they had a close affinity. This was the German Lutheran group which had arrived earlier and were firmly entrenched in several areas of America. The Synod, realizing that it was not yet prepared to establish and maintain its own seminary, tried to study alternative possibilities for the training of its pastors. In so doing, it was natural that they would turn to the German Lutherans for help in their project.[8]

The first move in this direction occurred in 1855, when two synod pastors, Brandt and Ottesen, were selected to investigate German Lutheran schools in St. Louis, Columbus and Buffalo.[9] The object of these visits was two-fold: to examine the kind and adequacy of education offered, and to explore the possibility of using these institutions for the training of Norwegian Lutheran pastors. The norm which determined the excellency of any institution for these orthodox pastors was unquestionably the adherence to Lutheran doctrine and acceptance of Lutheran educational principles.

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[8] One other solution to the education problem was proposed. This was to establish a "Norwegian minister school in connection with the University of Wisconsin." Upon investigation this proposal proved impracticable, however. See Gisle Bothne, Det Norske Luther College, 1861-1897 (Decorah, Iowa: Trykt paa forfatterens forlag, 1897), p. 28.

[9] Forhandlinger, Synodmøde, Oktober 1-3, 1855 (Immansville, Wis.: Trykt i Emigrantens office, 1855), pp. 20-21, 24.

The German Joint Synod of Ohio had established Capital University at Columbus in 1850. The services of this school had already been proffered to the new Norwegian church by William Reynolds, its president.[10] Brandt and Ottesen were not, however, particularly enthusiastic about either the Joint Synod of Ohio or Capital University; this was probably, as Nelson suggested, because of "the relatively unstable confessional position in Ohio."[11]

The Martin Luther College at Buffalo did not satisfy the Norwegian clergy any better. Perhaps this group (the Buffalo Synod) were more orthodox, but the concept of the church and the ministry was not completely akin to the position taken by the Church of Norway.[12]

The one group which was satisfactorily orthodox in every way was the Missouri Synod, centered in St.

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[10] Maanedstidende, II (April 1852), pp. 6-8.

[11] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 113.

[12] "Inberetning fra Pastorerne Ottesen og Brandt," Kirkelig Maanedstidende, II (October 1857), 481.

Louis, Missouri. The educational program at Concordia College in St. Louis had, in the visitors' eyes, solved for the German Lutherans the problem of supplying a trained ministry in America without dependence upon the universities of the homeland.

The report on Concordia College and the Missouri Synod was ecstatic:

> How unspeakably precious it was for us to find such a beloved and richly blessed nursery for our dear Lutheran church...We noted throughout how the professors made the older Lutheran theology the basis of instruction...[13]

Since the Norwegian congregations of this time were still poor and scattered, the discovery of Concordia Seminary and the Missouri Synod seemed the perfect answer to the pressing problem of ministerial supply. Walther, the German leader sometimes called "the American Luther," assumed the role of spiritual guide and elder brother to many of the founders of the Norwegian-American church. In many ways, support and counsel from the Germans was advantageous; but, as later events proved, the association embroiled the Norwegian Synod in controversies which weakened and split the church.

Although the clergy were almost unanimous in their approval of the German connection, the arrangement met with a great deal of suspicion on the part of the laymen. The Schleswig-Holstein incident and the Prussian part in that quarrel[14] were too recent and too personal for the democratic laymen to dismiss lightly. When German leadership influenced the Norwegian clergy to advocate causes that seemed anti-American as well as anti-democratic, the laymen rebelled. Even the common bond of Lutheranism could not induce laymen to follow the leadership of the aristocratic clergy in everything.

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[13] Loc. cit.

The Slavery Question

One of the direct results of Brandt's and Ottesen's enthusiastic report on Concordia College and the Missouri Synod was the decision to establish a Norwegian professorship in St. Louis. This was planned as a temporary measure while the Synod gathered a fund to establish its own institution.[15]

After an unsuccessful attempt to secure a professor from Norway to represent the Synod at Concordia, Pastor Laurentius Larsen accepted the call and assumed his teaching duties in 1859.[16] He was joined immediately by young Norwegian students who planned to get their seminary training at St. Louis. These men were the first of a great number of Synod pastors trained by the Missouri Germans. Larsen himself was later destined to become the first president of the Synod's own college, Luther College, founded in 1861.

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[14] Theodore Jorgenson, _Norway's Relation to Scandinavian Unionism, 1815-1871_ (Northfield, Minnesota: St. Olaf College Press, 1935), pp. 151-158.

[15] _Inberetning_..., pp. 489-490.

As the representative of the Synod at Concordia, Larsen was, of course, close to Walther, Craemer and other Missouri Synod leaders.

> As Ottesen had predicted, Larsen had not been long in St. Louis before he became an ardent Missourian...Dr. C. F. Walther exerted a strong influence on him at the time when the theological views of his mature years were being clarified.[17]

From Concordia Larsen also gave voice to points of view which frequently earned the hostility of Haugean pastors and distrust of the lay members of his own synod. Among the issues which caused dissention none was more difficult for the young church than the slavery question.

It was rather incongruous that Norwegians should be embroiled in the question of slavery, since they settled almost without exception in the North and West and gave support to anti-slavery causes. The democratic laity enthusiastically joined the new Republican party, and many served loyally in the armed forces of the North during the Civil War.[18]

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[16] An account of Larsen's teaching days in St. Louis was given in Karen Larsen, Laur. Larsen, Pioneer College President (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936), pp. 97-125.

[17] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 106.

In August of 1860, Laur. Larsen sailed to Norway again on a special mission for the Synod. The purpose of this visit was an earnest appeal to the Church of Norway to send trained pastors to the fertile fields in America.[19] Although there was a surplus of pastors in Norway, Larsen's trip proved to be quite unsuccessful.

> On his list of those who were considering his appeal more or less seriously there are thirty-five names, but only three of them, I believe, actually came to America.[20]

One reason for this lack of success is the strong prejudice against emigration among the educated class in Norway, which has been mentioned above.

Prejudice against America and emigration were not the only obstacle, however, to his success. The Synod teaching, as reinforced by the Missourian connection, was not completely in harmony with the views of the mother church.

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[18] Extensive treatment of the slavery question as it related to Norwegians and particularly to the Norwegian Synod are given in Blegen, _op_. _cit_., II, 418-453; Rohne, _Norwegian-American Lutheranism..._, 202-222; and K. Larsen, _op_. _cit_., pp. 126-155 _et passim_.

[19] _K_. _Maanedstidende_, V (August 1860), 255.

[20] K. Larsen, _op_. _cit_., p. 122.

> The Synod found the leaders in the mother church too latitudinarian and void of clear-cut convictions, and they, in turn, took exception to what they called the well-intentioned but one-sided orthodoxy of the Synod, "that American (by no means Lutheran) orthodoxy" which they ascribed to Missourian influences. They were inclined to look with more favor on the other branches of the Norwegian-American church than on the Synod.[21]

Upon Larsen's return to America in January, 1861, the Civil War was imminent. The actual outbreak of war on April 12, 1861, brought serious consequences to the St. Louis seminary. Larsen sent an announcement to the Norwegian newspaper Emigranten to the effect that, due to the unsettled conditions, Concordia would be closed.[22] The same issue of Emigranten asked a disturbing question about the faculty there and, indirectly, about Larsen himself. Were the faculty members of St. Louis loyal to the Union?[23] Norwegian students who returned north spread the rumor that Concordia was rampant with pro-slavery sentiments.

Norwegian lay people, largely Republican and intensely patriotic, were horrified at the suggestion that their ministers could show any sympathy with the institution of slavery. Larsen, and other members of the

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

[22] *Emigranten*, X (May 6, 1861), 3.

[23] *Loc. cit.*

Synod such as H. A. Preus, Koren, and Ottesen, on the other hand, were more concerned about upholding the authority of the Bible than giving support to political causes.

The question of slavery became a burning issue that caused dissention and unrest within the Synod for a generation. The battle was fought largely within the confines of the columns of the immigrant press and of the church newspapers. The Synod meetings wrestled with the problem; it became an intense struggle between the authority of the Missouri-oriented clergy and the liberal minded men led by C. L. Clausen and fervently supported by the laity. The direct result of the contention was the founding of Luther College, the first great and, in many ways, the crowning achievement of the Norwegian Synod.

The regular meeting of the Norwegian Synod June 26-July 2, 1861, brought matters to a head.[24] Laymen insisted that the ties with Concordia be severed and a school of their own be established. The clergy were not enthusiastic about breaking ties with the Missourians, as their theological views were so harmonious with their own. Accordingly, the clergy made an attempt to settle the matter by issuing a statement of the position of the church.

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[24] Beretning... for den norsk-evangelisk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika...26 de Juni-2en Juli, 1861, n.p.

> Highly significant as a revelation of their naive confidence in clerical authority the suggestion of these ultra-orthodox clergymen stated that the lay opposition would melt away if only a unanimous declaration would be forthcoming from the pastors.[25]

Larsen then formulated a statement which even the liberal Clausen was persuaded to sign:

> Although according to the Word of God, it is not in and by itself a sin to keep slaves, nevertheless it is in itself an evil and a punishment from God. We condemn all abuses and sins connected therewith, and furthermore, when official duties require it and when Christian love and wisdom demand it, we will work for its abolition.[26]

The declaration did not silence the laity, however. There had been a brief period of quiet following the clerical pronouncement, and for a few days "the ministers indulged in the vain hope that the talk among the people would subside."[27] A month following the Luther Valley meeting Clausen withdrew his name from the list of the supporters of the clerical resolution.[28] This decision was only the first action taken by Clausen against the domination of the church by Preus and his small clique of university men. As Clausen himself confessed, he was unable to contend with dialectically disciplined clergymen on equal terms.[29] Assuming, as they all did, that the Bible was the ultimate authority, the Synod pastors' view was clearly logical, although it was coldly theoretical and dealt with "slavery in itself" rather than the historical consequences of a slave-master relationship.

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[25] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 175.

[26] Beretning... 1861, pp. 37-38.

[27] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 145.

[28] Ibid., pp. 145-146.

Somehow Clausen and his adherents felt that slavery was wrong and did not hesitate to say so, despite the convincing arguments of the opposition. Eventually the quarrel led to a split within the Norwegian Synod. Clausen left in 1868.[30] A. C. Preus's congregation severed relations over slavery in 1863. Some congregations of Pastor Ottesen left in 1868.[31]

One of the significant and characteristic actions of the Synod pastors came to light only after the Civil War.[32] Some of the leaders of the Synod communicated with theological professors in Oslo, Norway, regarding the Missouri Synod position regarding slavery. The Oslo faculty did not sympathize with the Synod point of view and in some ways were closer to the ideas of Clausen and the laity.

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[29] C. L. Clausen, "Gjenmæle mod Kirkeraadet for den Norske Synode i Anledning af dets Skrift, *Kaldet, Historisk Fremstilling af den Strid som i Aarene 1861 til 1868 indenfor den Norske Synode i Amerika har været ført i Anledning af Skriftens L[illegible]re om Slaveri*"(Chicago: I Commission hos Fritz Frantzen, 1869), pp. 56-64.

[30] *Beretning*...*Synodemøde 1868*, pp. 22-37.

[31] *K. Maanedstidende*, XV (1870), 124.

[32] *Beretning*...*1866*, pp. 40-66. The documents dealing with the slavery problem were made public in the Minutes of the 1866 Synod meeting.

Although, as mentioned, the exchange of correspondence had taken place during the time the War was raging, the pastors explained the delay by noting that publication of the letters would have caused confusion in the congregations and embarrassment to the Oslo University faculty.[33]

It was not surprising, then, that Clausen was chagrined to learn that while the pastors were trying desperately to convince him of the error of his reasoning, they themselves were in possession of information which would have strengthened Clausen's views tremendously.[34]

The question of slavery gave rise to the first break within the Norwegian Synod. Several pastors beside Clausen and many of the laity left the Synod and allied themselves with other Norwegian-American church bodies, principally the Hauge Synod. The Norwegian Synod remained a tightly-knit, clergy-dominated group after the secession of the strongest abolitionist elements. It was to be split apart again in a few years, however, over the question of predestination. After the Civil War the authority of the clergy became more suspect, and the Norwegian Synod's strength waned.

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[33] Ibid., p. 58.

[34] Two interesting and opposing points of view on the slavery problem were expressed, by the Synod in Historisk Fremstilling af den Strid som i Aarene 1861-1868 indenfor den Norske Synode i Amerika har været ført i Anledning af Skriftens Lære om Slaveri, written by Laur. Larsen at the request of the Synod president; and C. L. Clausen's Gjenmæle...(1869).

The Common School Issue

Division among Norwegian-Americans, stirred to a high pitch by the slavery issue, was also clearly evident in the long and bitter controversy over the public schools.[35] Here, too, pastor was often pitted against pastor, congregation against pastor, and congregation against congregation.

The alignment pro and con paralleled that of the slavery question. The stronger the church organization, the surer were the leaders of the superiority of their own background and training, and the more critical they were of American conditions. Churches in the Haugean tradition and laymen with their democratic sympathies quickly rallied to the support of American institutions, and particularly the public school. The controversy was not confined to church circles. The emerging Norwegian-American press generally defended the common school against the attacks of its severe critics among the clergy. Criticism of the common schools diminished as the clergy reluctantly grew to understand the impracticability of a complete system of "Norwegian and Lutheran" education in a New World.

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[35] Elementary public schools were almost always referred to by Norwegian-Americans as common schools. This is the nomenclature in all the voluminous writing on the subject during the nineteenth century.

As the clergy learned to accept the public school experience for everyone, it began to concentrate on academy- and college-level education for would-be ministers and church workers. The majority of the academies, too, later failed to survive the competition of the public school. Today education among Norwegian Lutherans tends to be maintained largely at the college level.

Lutheran defenders of the common school. Generally, the immigrants who sought to identify themselves with the American scene were quick to adopt the common school as one of the chief instruments for achieving this goal. As long as the newcomers were numerically weak, no great voice of protest was raised. Ole Rynning, the first great publicist for America among the Norwegians, gave enthusiastic support to the schools:

> The American realizes very well what an advantage the educated man has over the ignorant,

> and he spares nothing in the instruction
> and education of his children.[36]

Rynning felt that English would soon take the place of Norwegian as the language of the immigrant and his children. The public school's part in helping this to come about merited enthusiastic support from all. Unquestionably raising money from the sale of each sixteenth section for school purposes appealed to an immigrant group accustomed from the homeland to regarding education as the mark of privilege.

The earlier immigrants were not, as has been indicated, university-educated men. They were, therefore, more inclined to support institutions in the New World which would help to establish themselves there and which could put them on more equal footing with their leaders from the Old Country. Thus Elling Eielsen, man of the people and also leader in the church, found no reason to fear the public school. Although this fear was most evident among those who came with greater educational background and greater assurance of the inherent superiority of Norwegianism and all its cultural baggage, the so-called Old Constitution of the Church under Eielsen's guidance endorsed the public school.

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[36] Ole Rynning, True Account of America, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen (Minneapolis: Published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1926), p. 89.

"The children must be educated in both languages, but in the mother tongue first, though in such a way that the district school is not neglected."[37] Thus, although children were to receive their first instruction at home, and this was to be religious catechization,[38] Eielsen expected children to go to the common school for the largest part of their education.

C. L. Clausen, the broad churchman, referred to in the previous chapters, also saw opportunity rather than danger from the public school. Despite his fascination with the order and discipline of an established church, he remained unwilling to follow its dictates in all matters of conscience. Often unable to cope with the dialectic excellence of advocates of church dominance in everything, including education, he nevertheless retained his strong feeling of the "rightness" of adapting himself quickly to his American environment. It was, therefore, quite harmonious with his democratic sympathies that he associated himself with a Scandinavian Lutheran Education Society,[39] while also actively engaged in promoting the interests of that most authoritarian of the

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[37] Article 13,"The 'Old Constitution'; Church-Constitution for the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Jefferson Prairie, etc., in North America." Tr. by Rohne, Norwegian-American Lutheranism..., p. 109.

[38] See especially Article 10. Ibid., p. 108.

[39] Supra, Chapter IV, p. 110.

Norwegian groups, the Norwegian Synod.

The Scandinavian Lutheran Education Society comprised a fascinating anecdote in Norwegian-American history. The brainchild of R. B. Anderson, rebellious Luther College student, newspaper editor, and later American ambassador to Denmark, the society was supported by a member of more liberal pastors, including Clausen.

The purpose of the society, agreed upon over the objection of some of the Synod pastors present, was to support "genuine public education among the Scandinavian people in this country, and especially to bring about the establishment of Scandinavian Lutheran professors in American higher schools.[40]

Clausen accepted the presidency of the organization. A second meeting in Decorah, Iowa, in June, 1870, revealed the support that many, perhaps a majority, of Norwegians gave to the public school. The central theme of this meeting was the question of the common school. The group went on record to the effect that

> ...the American common school is right in principle and the best system proposed or known for promoting general popular education; and that parents should send their children to the common school and take an active interest in securing good teachers for it and in having good discipline maintained.[41]

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[40] *Skandinaven*, March 17, 1869.

[41] *Fædrelandet og emigranten*, May 12, 1870. Quoted by Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America*, II, 260.

The Scandinavian Lutheran Education Society ceased to function after its second meeting. It was destined, as R. B. Anderson later wrote, to be "a still born child."[42]

The common school controversy did not cease, however. Columns of the Norwegian-American press were devoted for months to arguments pro and con regarding the public school. The Synod men, chiefly A. C. and H. A. Preus, inveighed against the "religionless common school."[43] When, moreover, the dissenting churchmen set up their own college, Luther College, they were not able to convince everyone that the Norwegian way was superior in every respect to the American. The low churchmen, those not so thoroughly indoctrinated from the homeland, felt that the public schools offered wider opportunities for everyone.

The reaction against dictation from those who appointed themselves as authorities often became violent. R. B. Anderson, for example, once had engraved on the letterhead for all his correspondence this emphatic declaration:

> Whosoever directly or indirectly opposes the American common school is an enemy of education, of liberty, of progress. Opposition

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[42] R. B. Anderson, Life Story, p. 117.

[43] Skandinaven, March 17, 1869. Quoted by Blegen, op. cit., II, 261.

> to the American common school is treason
> to our country.[44]

In 1870 two church bodies, the Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Norwegian Augustana Synod, were founded. These groups were comprised largely of those members of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod who, for reasons of language and national background, had become desirous of aligning themselves as Norwegian speaking Lutherans.

To "the Conference" came C. L. Clausen, the Synod pastor who had broken with his colleagues over their acceptance of slavery. Clausen was elected president of the new body. The Conference was the parent, even before its formal organization, of Augsburg Seminary. The "oldest seminary among Norwegian Lutherans in America"[45] had been formed by the withdrawal of Professor August Weenaas (1835-1924) and some Norwegian students from the Augustana College and Theological Seminary in Paxton, Illinois, in 1869, when Weenaas knew that the Conference was about to be organized. The Norwegian theologians, professor and students, set up a seminary in the academy buildings in Marshall, Wisconsin.

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[44] R. B. Anderson, _op_. _cit_., p. 598.

[45] Andreas Helland, "Backgrounds and Beginnings of the Lutheran Free Church," lectures delivered at Augsburg Seminary, 1941. Unpublished manuscript, Minneapolis, 1941, p. 91.

This was soon given the name Augsburg Seminary. However, a short while later the other church body formed in 1870, the Norwegian Augustana Synod, took possession of the buildings in Marshall, Wisconsin. After two years of anxious delay, the Conference established Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis in its own new building. Other professors were called, among them Sven Oftedal and Georg Sverdrup.[46]

From this institution in Minneapolis came one of the most eloquent defenses of the common school. Oftedal (1844-1911) denounced the Synod's hostility to the common schools in his Aaben Erklæring (Open Declaration).

Open Declaration, a violent denunciation of the Synod, was written by Oftedal in 1874, shortly after his arrival in America. In this historic statement Oftedal charged the Synod with "Popism," intellectual and scholastic orthodoxy, and a theoretical Christianity dedicated to rule by the hierarchy of the Church.[47]

Oftedal quickly entered into community and civic affairs. He became a member of the Minneapolis School

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[46] Ibid., pp. 89-92.

[47] Skandinaven, January 30, 1874; the document is reproduced in Andreas Helland, Augsburg Seminar Gjennem Femti Aar (Minneapolis: Folkebladet Publishing Company Trykkeri, 1920), pp. 440-442.

Board in 1878 and was its president for four years.

Professor Georg Sverdrup (1848-1907), the president of Augsburg Seminary, like Oftedal was a staunch defender of the common school. From his pen came what has been called the "most incisive essay that the common school controversy produced."[48] Sverdrup's defense of the common school appeared originally in a theological publication of Augsburg Seminary. The essay consisted of two parts, "Commonskolen" ("The Common School") and "Commonskolen og Kristendommen" ("The Common School and Christianity").[49]

With clear and precise logic Sverdrup pointed out that it was absolutely correct that the public schools must not teach religion. The strength of the common school was that it was without religion, without class distinction, and was controlled by the people.

Sverdrup concluded:

> If the Norwegian people in America are to take their rightful place, if they are to be a healthy and living stream in the American development, then they must seriously make use of the common school and build up the common school. We must obtain teachers who are efficient, school boards which are fit, superintendents who carry out their responsibility. Our children must grow up into the

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[48] Blegen, op. cit., II, 271.

[49] Kvartalskrift (Minneapolis), 2:184-190 (1876); 3:73-95 (1877).

> language and history of this country, and we shall see a generation rise up after us which will be equal to those tasks which we have had to leave behind.[50]

__Lutheran__ __opponents__ __of__ __the__ __common__ __school__. Generally in opposition to low church and popular movements, the Norwegian Synod almost alone among Norwegian immigrants presented an organized opposition to the common school. The opposition became urgent as the common school became the chief instrument of Americanization. In attempting to stem the tide, the Synod tried to establish more parochial schools and expand them so as to fulfill completely the role of the public school plus adding instruction in the Lutheran faith and the Norwegian language.[51]

Although they had established parochial schools to teach religion and Norwegian in the settlements almost from the beginning,[52] Synod pastors looked eagerly to the German Missouri Synod for models of a type of Christian day school to replace the common school.[53]

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[50] __Kvartalskrift__, 2:190 (1876).

[51] The documents involved in an interesting debate appear in "A School and Language Controversy in 1858," Translated and edited by A. C. Paulson and Kenneth Bjørle, __Studies__ __and__ __Records__ (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association), 10 (1938) 76-106.

[52] Blegen, __op__. __cit__., II, 244-246.

[53] __Loc__. __cit__.

The Missouri Synod

> ...established an overwhelmingly large number of parish schools, often in great adversity, and continued without interruption and without change, except to grow stronger each year. The growth of the parochial schools, in this synod, progressed to such an extent that it had more schools toward the end of the first half of the last century than all the other Lutheran bodies combined, because the spirit of Dr. Walther and his colleagues permeated the entire body of these Lutherans. Hence, these schools within the Missouri Synod and its allies remained largely on a permanent basis,...[54]

The Norwegian pastors had problems of space and staff, as well as the opposition of many lay people, with which to cope. H. A. Stub (1822-1907) wrote in a letter to Norway of his experiences:

> We now have a schoolhouse under construction near the parsonage in which I hope we shall have a permanent teacher of Norwegian and religion about six to eight months a year. We are also planning three months of English school. The greatest difficulty is to get a well qualified teacher. The average salary of the teachers in the American public schools ranges from twelve to eighteen dollars per month, and a competent Norwegian teacher would hardly undertake to teach for much less; and it will not be easy for a small settlement to raise so high a salary.[55]

A. C. Preus (1814-1878) spoke for the Synod in presenting its arguments against the common school. The common schools were without discipline, they did not employ the language of the heart--he himself had sent his children to common schools and the results were not good. The teacher addressed even six-year-olds as "ladies and gentlemen."[56]

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[54] Paul W. Spaude, The Lutheran Church Under American Influence (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1943), pp. 99-100.

[55] H. A. Stub, letter to Norway January 23, 1849, "Efterretninger fra Pastor Stub, Muskego, Nord Amerika," For Fattig og Rig II (1849), 27-32, quoted by Lydia B. Sundby, "Holding High the Torch," in J. C. K. Preus et al., Norsemen Found a Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953), p. 303.

The debate over the common school precipitated action by the Synod. In 1859 at the annual church meeting, a declaration in the characteristically Lutheran form of theses appeared. Signed by Professor Larsen, Pastors Koren, Ottesen, H. A. Stub, A. C. and H. A. Preus, and Nils Brandt, they clearly stated the Synod position:

> 2. In this country it must, therefore, as a rule be regarded as desirable for Christians to establish such parochial schools as can give instruction in subjects comparable to those taught in the so-called "common schools" so that these need not be patronized.
>
> 3. It is our duty as citizens to support these common schools even if we do not entrust our children to them.
>
> 4. These non-religious public schools give their best service to those elements in our population which are not Christian and do not crave a Christian education.
>
> 5. The fact that religion is not taught in these schools is a necessary result of the religious freedom which it is our good fortune to enjoy under our national system of government; but it is also a melancholy testimony

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[56] Paulson and Bjork, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

> to the apostasy of our time and to the division of the church due to the activity of the sects.
>
> 15. It must be possible for us to establish parochial schools of such a character that we shall not need to patronize the American common schools, as other Christians have done, including groups who speak foreign languages.
>
> 18. Where such an arrangement as the one recommended above cannot be made or cannot be achieved at an early date, the members of our congregations must seek to acquire as great an influence as possible in the management of the district schools, particularly in the appointment of teachers and in determining the time of its sessions.
>
> 20. Wherever no other arrangement seems practicable, it must be regarded as sufficient for the preparation in English to send the children to the public schools after confirmation, though not earlier.[57]

H. A. Preus outlined the Synod position in a series of lectures given in Christiania (now Oslo) in 1871. "It is our purpose to make the public schools superfluous so far as our Church members are concerned." The common schools were useless to the Norwegian Synod pioneer because they were not Lutheran.[58]

While the founders of the Norwegian Synod were vocal in opposition to the common school, it remained for one of the later arrivals, Pastor Bernt Julius Muus (1832-1900), to express the most violent reaction. Muus, a pastor in Goodhue County, Minnesota, and later founder of St. Olaf College in Northfield, was a man given to voicing strong opinions. His unwillingness to accept the Synod position on absolution (predestination) later resulted in his joining a defecting group known as the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood (1887). In the seventies, however, Muus stood with the other Synod pastors.

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[57] H. A. Preus, *Syv foredrag om de kirkelige forhold blandt de norske i Amerika*, 43 (Christiania, 1867), quoted by Larson, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[58] *Loc. cit.*

> I regard the common school as an institution which because of its essential principle (efter sit princip) must work in opposition to the kingdom of God; furthermore, I regard it as a feeble device, inasmuch as the children in those schools learn much less than they can and ought.[59]

Continuing in his denunciation, he wrote that pupils "perhaps read some romance or other entitled the history of the United States."[60] Sending children to public schools was a waste of good money and ought to be discontinued since it was a hindrance to true education.[61]

Opposition to this kind of denunciation was not long in coming from the liberal Norwegian press. Muus was not easily cowed, however, and displayed his usual fire. At a convention in his own Holden church in 1873 the Norwegian paper, Scandinaven, was represented by John A. Johnson. Muus' reaction to this was to say, "A paper so hostile to the Christian religion (ukristeligt) as Skandinaven" should not be allowed representation at the meeting.[62] His opposition was, however, overruled.

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[59] Fædrelandet og emigranten, March 10, 1870, quoted by Larson, op. cit., p. 131.

[60] Loc. cit.

[61] Ibid., p. 132.

The controversy over education led inevitably to a discussion of the relation between church and state. Lutherans have historically maintained that the Christian owes a duty to the State. On the other hand, they have also maintained that the Christian's first duty is to God. On the school question, Muus and H. A. Preus contended that it was the duty of the State to help parents. If a conflict comes between church and State, these pastors averred that parents must obey the Church. In their point of view they were opposed by V. Koren, F. A. Schmidt, and others who interpreted the Lutheran position to be that parents must obey the law of the land unless it was in direct opposition to the Word of God.[63]

The Synod pastors' low regard for the American common schools was shared by certain Norwegian intellectuals who had no sympathies with the religious position of the Synod. The intellectuals often condemned the schools for expensive facilities and inadequate instruction. As Knut Hamsun, the Nobel prize winner in literature, wrote somewhat bitterly, after an unfortunate stay in America in the 1880's,

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[62] *Ibid*., p. 134.

[63] *Ibid*., p. 135.

> ...there is no evidence from the people of America that their extremely expensive schools have resulted in rare fruits of culture and intelligence. One will find them on a very low grade of enlightenment, that in many subjects is pure ignorance. The fact that they, on the other hand, are ahead of us here at home in several other subjects, namely in arithmetic and national history, has not absolutely left behind the most intelligent imprint upon the Americans as a people. This abundant knowledge of the smallest details in the history of their own country, for example, their eternal reading about America's glorious accomplishments in war, has perhaps made no small contribution towards nourishing their national self-importance and making Americans even more patriotic than they were before.[64]

The discussion over the common schools raged for most of two decades. Although generally the Synod clergy was opposed to the American common school and the laity was in sympathy with it, opinions on both sides among both clergy and laity are to be found. This was the case also with the Norwegian-American periodicals of the time, and these served as the vehicles for the expression of immigrant thought.

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[64] Knut Hamsun, Fra Det Moderne Amerikas Aandsliv, translated by Einar O. Johnson, "The Intellectual Life of Modern America." (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1950), p. 177.

The Norwegian-American press and education. The fires of controversy were fed by the contributors to and the editors of the Norwegian-American newspapers most widely read at the time. Chief among these were Skandinaven, published in Chicago, and Faedrelandet og emigranten,[65] published in LaCrosse, Wisconsin.

Knut Langeland, editor of Skandinaven, "the foremost exponent of the American public school,"[66] was greatly opposed to the Synod position on the school question.

> Langeland's views were definite and precise and he knew how to express them in clear and forceful Norwegian. Both he and his associate had leanings toward the left wing element in the Lutheran church; but positive propaganda in this direction was not a part of the editorial policy. Almost at the very beginning of its career Skandinaven came into conflict with the Norwegian Synod. The editor would not admit, however, that his paper harbored any general hostile feeling toward this great church body. His opposition was limited to certain "Missourian" views on slavery and the common school; on these questions he refused to be silent, and the war was on.[67]

The editor of Faedrelandet og emigranten, on the other hand, accepted the views of Preus and Muus and was favorable to parochial schools. The Synod pastors vented their ire on Skandinaven and its editorial views, calling it "a wicked, ungodly newspaper" and its editor one who "labored to promote the kingdom of Satan."[68] The pastors usually sent their contributions to Fædrelandet og emigranten.

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[65] Skandinaven was first published May 2, 1866; Faedrelandet og emigranten, a consolidation of two earlier papers, Emigranten (1852-1868) and Faedrelandet (1864-1868), first came out on September 3, 1868.

[66] Arlow W. Anderson, The Immigrant Takes His Stand (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1953), p. 113.

[67] Skandinaven, June 30, 1874. Quoted by Larson, op. cit., p. 124.

A short while later two other newspapers gave opportunity for the Norwegian-American love of self-expression. These were two weekly newspapers, Budstikken, which began in Minneapolis in 1872; and Norden, born in Chicago on October 13, 1874. Budstikken was rather anticlerical from the start and soon became a target for the barbs of the conservatives.[69] The editorial staff indicated that it urged support of the common schools as a civic duty but also favored parochial schools where common schools were inadequate.[70] The problem was largely academic, as private parochial schools were not often at the level of efficiency of the public school at the time.

Norden was a source of disappointment because its editor, although indicating a conservative point of reference, consistently tried to stay out of the school controversy. This was, however, next to impossible; and the editor, a pastor of the Norwegian Synod, favored the Synod stand toward parochial schools.

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[68] Skandinaven, May 26, 1869; December 15, 1874, quoted by Larson, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

[69] Larson, op. cit., p. 136.

[70] Budstikken, June 5, 1875; June 10, 1879, quoted by Larson, op. cit., p. 136.

Other newspapers of the time, both secular and church organs, reflected the controversy. Amerika, a weekly published in La Crosse, Wisconsin (1868), provided a mouthpiece for its editor, K. Knudsen, to state:

> It is our duty first of all to work for the nationality to which we belong....Therefore we are working in this country for the maintenance of Norwegian churches and schools and for the preservation of the Norwegian language.[71]

The editor of another Amerika, of Winona, Minnesota (1869), was happy with the public schools and especially approved a Wisconsin law permitting instruction in foreign languages one hour a day in those districts where a particular national majority group existed. He hoped Minnesota would soon follow suit.[72] Nordisk folkeblad of Minneapolis (1868-1872) aired a controversy on the public schools between Pastor Muus and the county superintendent of schools, taking the side of public education.[73] Still another Amerika, of Chicago, edited by Langeland and John A. Johnson after 1872, continued the common school controversy.

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[71] Amerika (La Crosse, Wis.), October 12, 1868. See A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 115.

[72] Ibid., p. 116.

[73] Loc. cit.

Church papers, especially Kirkelig Maanedstidende (1852-1873), organ of the Synod, and Kirkelig Tidende (1856-1917), a periodical of the low-church Haugean group, obviously reflected the views of the church leaders. The controversy at times reached bitterness and slander of a type hardly to be anticipated from the pens of clergymen.

Marcus Thrane, notorious rebel leader in Chicago, came to the defense of Langeland and the common school as editor of his paper, Dagslyset (The Light of Day, 1869-1876). A free-thinker, Thrane fought the "priestly influence" in American education which he felt the Norwegian church wanted to exercise over the immigrants. Thrane, a highly controversial figure, also wrote Den Gamle Wisconsin Bibelen (The Old Wisconsin Bible), a satirical attack on all aspects of Norwegian-American church life, written in Biblical style.[74]

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[74] This book (1881) roused the unmitigated wrath of the entire religious community among Norwegian-Americans. A selection describing and defending Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's tour of the Midwest in 1881 will give an idea of the book's tone:

> Out in the West there is the great city of Chicago, which, like Babylon, is full of people, ungodly people who would not heed the word of the Synod prophets. And it came to pass under the reign of Caesar Ulysses that the Lord's patience was at an end and he sent the Angel of Death with a flaming wind and brought fire to the city which burned three days and three nights so there remained scarcely stone upon stone of Chicago's walls.

74(Cont.) And the Lord thought that the city would never rise again, but Satan was stronger than the Lord and brought many people there and the city rose up out of its ashes greater than before. When the Lord decided Chicago must be destroyed, the high priests, Muus and Preus and Stub and Oftedal and others, asked the Lord to spare the city. But the Lord lifted his hands and said: "I cannot spare the city. There are three thousand saloons, swarms of Freemasons and Oddfellows and fortunetellers and socialists and nihilists and aldermen and county commissioners." Again the high priests begged him to spare the city. So the Lord answered: "All right, I will spare the city if you can find one hundred Philistines and one hundred faithful Synodists." The high priests counted the people and found over two hundred Philistines, but not one faithful Synodist, not a single one. The Lord was so full of wrath that He decided to send to Chicago a mighty false prophet, one who would corrupt the people and make them believe falsehood. So he stepped up on the tower of Chicago's waterworks and with a trumpet in his hand called in a loud voice, "Bjørnson! Where art thou?" And Bjørnson fell on his knees and answered: "I am here in Massachusetts, what do you want?" The Lord telegraphed him asking him if he wanted to work for Satan and make six thousand silver shekels. Bjørnson answered," Certainly," and when the Lord told him to come immediately, Bjørnson telegraphed back: "To Jehova Zebaoth, Esq.! I am coming before Christmas. I am, Sir, Yours most respectfully: Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson." So Bjørnson came to Chicago and stayed at the Palmer Temple.

The Synodists and the Philistines, among them Skandinaven, the champion of the Philistines, greeted him with veneration, prepared a banquet in his honor and celebrated with harp and psalter, drum and fife and wine. But when Bjørnson began to lecture he spoke such heresy about Moses and the Prophets that Sven Oftedal's breast began to heave, and Skandinaven got such a pain in the stomach that all "Stomach Bitters" were in vain. The Lord at last permitted a Delirium Hypocriticum to come over them so they went around in sackcloth and ashes and swore by Moses and the Prophets. But Bjørnson went out through the West and all the people were driven by Satan to go and hear the mighty false prophet for half a dollar. And they heard his word and laughed and applauded.

Norwegian-American editors and newspapers kept the immigrant thinking and writing about education and Americanization, as well as about slavery, temperance, politics, women's rights, foreign affairs, literary interests and church matters.[75] This controversy regarding the common school gradually died down, however, as public education became mandatory in many states and as the Lutheran people realized their inability to support two complete systems of education. Anderson summed up the contribution of the Norwegian-American press thus:

> Cultural contributions of the Norwegian-American press and its subscribers may be traced largely to the Lutheran Church. The state church in Norway exercised control over its members even to matters of the minutest detail. Many immigrants sought escape from officialdom but the majority, more correctly,

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[74](Cont.) And the pastors were angry and called him an Antichrist and said it was a freethinkers' conspiracy that brought Bjørnson into the West, and they had many meetings in which they denounced him to the people. But the people followed after Bjørnson and heard his word and his word was spread over the whole West from Chicago to Fargo and from the holy cities of Eau Claire and Albert Lea to the borders of Kansas and Iowa. And afterward Bjørnson went back to Chicago where he held his last lecture outside Aurora Hall and there came Gog and Magog, and Jews and Greeks, and Synodists and Socialists, and Conferencers and reverends.

Quoted by Leola Nelson Bergmann, Americans from Norway (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, ⌊1950⌋), pp. 181-192.

[75]For a careful discussion of the contributions of the Norwegian-American press, see A. Anderson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

> attributed their former plight as struggling peasants to stern economic forces and remained loyal to the church of their fathers. The Lutheran church practiced formalism and, in common with orthodoxy everywhere, preached conformity. It repudiated perfectionism and held to the idea of man's depravity, thus finding it difficult to encourage any movements that implied the perfectibility of society. Nor did the larger Protestant denominations of the quarter century after 1850 adopt strong social reform programs. For Norwegian immigrant journalists and their clientele a religious restraint operated as a welcome stabilizing factor at times, but it also prevented a more rapid and more thorough application of immigrant energies to American civic affairs and social issues.[76]

Summary

"*Det staar skrevet*," "*gegraptai*," "it is written," "*Verbum Dei manet in aeternum*":[77] to such affirmations of faith and acknowledgments of the Word of God the Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Church in America held firm.[78]

Certain of their possession of the truth, skilled in dialectic, and inheritors of an aristocratic and learned tradition, the Norwegian Synod boldly set out to lead their countrymen in America. Theirs was a self-sufficient and often detached point of view regarding questions of the day. Thus slavery was debated as a hypothetical question and understood in the light of Bible teaching, rather than in terms of its practical historical consequences. The common school was condemned, since it contributed nothing to the Lutheran upbringing of Norwegians, and attempts were made to establish a complete system of education by the church.

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[76] A. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[77] "It is written" in Norwegian and Greek; "God's Word abides forever" in Latin. These were mottos of some of the Lutheran educational institutions.

[78] Gerhard L. Belgum, "The Old Norwegian Synod in America, 1853-1900." (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Yale University, 1957), p. iii.

Opposed to these aristocratic and undemocratic positions were the inheritors of the low church point of view, the relatively uneducated, and those who felt no inclination to follow the dictates of the Norwegian Synod. They championed the abolition of slavery and the universality of the common school as well as other public issues of the day.

These battles over public questions were fought bitterly and at great length in a rapidly-developing Norwegian-American press. Newspapers gave Norwegians an outlet for their love of debate and furnished a medium for learning about the New World of which they were becoming citizens.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FOUNDERS: LUTHER COLLEGE

The Norwegian Evangelical Church in America (the Norwegian Synod) discovered almost at once that its most pressing problem was to supply the embryo church with sufficiently numerous and properly qualified pastors. The field was enormous and the workers all too few. Attempts to entice additional pastors from Norway met with little success. The association with the German Missouri Synod in St. Louis was not altogether satisfactory for patriotic as well as practical reasons.

The cataclysmic event which finally made the reliance upon the Germans both unwise and impractical was the outbreak of the Civil War. Laymen, accustomed to accepting leadership in Norway from their educated clergy, found the democratic climate of America invigorating and appealing. A new rebellious spirit was shown among them in the refusal to accept the pastoral pronouncements on such questions as slavery and the public school. While the concept of a university for the Norwegians may have originated with the clergy,[1] the pressure of the laity and Civil War made immediate action imperative.

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[1] A resolution was passed as early as the February, 1853 meeting of the Synod, "to make all possible attempts and preparations with respect to the establishment of a

This chapter is concerned with the founding of Luther College, the guiding principles upon which it was established, and the early course of study. It will investigate the problems encountered by the pioneers in building a faculty that was in harmony with the church's fundamental views. The chapter will deal with the president's first encounter with and rejection of American institutions of higher learning as being inferior and unsuited to the aims of Synod Lutherans. It will also outline the methods of finance and control and the type of administration Luther College had during its formative years.

The Founding of Luther College

The Synod meeting of June 26, 1861, forced the Church to make a decision regarding the vital problems which had created such rancour.[2] On the agenda were the slavery question, the theological question of absolution and the question of establishing an independent

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[1] (Cont.) Scandinavian theological institution in Wisconsin." Ola A. Solheim, "Norsk-amerikanske skoler IV--Luther College," Symra, VI (1910), 218.

[2] A complete report of the meeting is found in the church organ Synodalberetning for 1861.

college. The Synod's president, A. C. Preuss suggested that the difficulty of securing teachers for a new school, rather than lack of funds, should be the only reason for hesitancy.

> In contrast to the usual conditions among churches out here in the West, we must admit that our congregations are so many and so large and that our dear Lord God has so richly blessed them with the good things of this world, that they could easily and with no real sacrifice build a very satisfactory educational institution, if we only had competent teachers. And if, when the time comes that teachers can be secured, we do not build a school, the only reason will be ungodly niggardliness.[3]

V. Koren, Synod pastor in the environs of Decorah, Iowa, came with a plan for the site of the new school. He was so sure of his choice that he had made a down payment on thirty-two acres in the city of Decorah. Since the city was a center of Norwegian settlement, it seemed a logical choice. Both laymen and clergy concurred in the suitability of the location.

Contention arose when the question was asked whether the school should be begun immediately or not. An aggravating discussion over slavery and an unfortunate declaration by the clergy, interpreted by the laity as a defense of that institution, immediately destroyed the harmony of the meeting. The clergy, with the exception of three who were less disposed to be sympathetic with the Missourian Germans, urged caution and opposed the immediate establishment of the school. Their objections were overruled by a majority report from the laity which declared for its launching immediately.

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[3] _Synodalberetning_ 1861, p. 5. Quoted in K. Larsen, _op_. _cit_., p. 131.

Since there were no buildings on Koren's land, temporary housing for the college was sought. A parsonage at Halfway Creek, near La Crosse, Wisconsin, which had been built but was never occupied, was decided upon as the first temporary home of the college.[4]

The logical choice for the head of the new educational venture was Laur. Larsen. Larsen, more than any other man, was to be the "Nestor" of the schoolmen, the framer of the college's policies, and the symbol of its mission.[5]

Professor Larsen had spent two years as the Norwegian teacher at the Missouri Synod's Concordia College. As was observed earlier,[6] Larsen had absorbed the Missouri Synod's views on theology and education and was, in fact,

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[4] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 136.

[5] Larsen was widely recognized as an educator. President Northrop of the University of Minnesota called him "the foremost educator among the Scandinavians." Governor Eberhart of Minnesota pointed out his importance to the State; James J. Hill, the railroad king, said that he considered Larsen to be a great man and that he had observed the fruit of his work both in Minnesota and North Dakota; and Senator Knute Nelson expressed himself similarly about him. See Lauritz S. Swenson, "Professor Doktor Laur. Larsen, De Norsk-Amerikanske Skolemaends Nestor," Symra, V,(1909), 190.

[6] Chapter V, p. 126.

"an ardent Missourian."

One of the chief reasons for the great influence of the Missouri Synod was "the peerless leader, the Luther among the Germans in America,"[7] Dr. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887). Dr. Walther was the recognized authority on Lutheran doctrine and the living example of the Lutheran spirit. His scholarship and orthodoxy appealed to the university group that founded Luther College, among them Pastor H. A. Preus, Prof. Larsen, and Pastor V. Koren. In no small measure the dialectical skill with which these men defended their principles and the principles of Luther College were attributable to the inspiration and example of Walther.[8]

Since the Missouri Synod and Walther were so influential within the Norwegian Synod, it followed that the new Norwegian school would be patterned after the German Concordia College. The Norwegian Synod pastors were graduates of the Royal Frederick University in Christiania (Oslo), which in turn was patterned after the German universities.[9] Furthermore, these pastors were graduates of Latin Schools, which again were patterned upon the German gymnasia. Thus the fathers of Luther College could conceive of higher education only in the German mold. That they were thoroughly conversant with the German language and were disciples of German theology only served to reinforce this fact.

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[7] Rohne, *Norwegian-American Lutheranism*..., p. 196.

[8] A thorough account of the relations between the Missouri Synod and the Norwegian Synod is found in Gerhard L. Belgum, *op*. *cit*., 451 pp.

[9] *Supra*, Chapter III, p. 82.

Luther College,[10] like Harvard and Yale universities, was founded primarily for one purpose: the education of ministers. Larsen clearly stated that aim when he sent a public announcement to the Norwegian newspaper Emigranten, stating that, on September 1, 1861, the "Norwegian Lutheran School for the Education of Ministers" would begin its work in the parsonage near La Crosse.[11]

Meanwhile a committee known as the "Theological Seminary Building Committee," headed by Pastor Koren, worked on plans for the school to be built in Decorah. The committee's report also included a statement of the college's aims: To establish a school where preachers and teachers could be trained, but also a school where young men who did not intend to make the Church their profession might receive training. Otherwise these youths would attend a school where they might be robbed of their faith.

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[10] The term "college" did not come into general usage among the Norwegians for some time. The school was referred to as "the University" or "presteskolen", the school for preachers. Frequently the Norwegians "læreanstalt" was used. This is a general term difficult to translate. Perhaps "institution for higher education" or simply "school" would be a close approximation.

[11] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 137.

> Therefore the committee has unanimously resolved to make the plan of the building such that the department preparing for the seminary can also accept students who aim to prepare themselves for other callings, so that they may serve their country in such positions as require more than a common education.[12]

In 1862 the college was moved into temporary quarters in a Decorah hotel. In 1864 the cornerstone of its own new building on Koren's tract of land was laid. In the cornerstone a history of the Synod was included, part of which read:

> Emigrated Norwegians, Lutheran Christians, living in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, united in erecting this building to educate teachers of the Church, through whose ministry, by the grace of our Lord, the saving truth of the Gospel in Word and Sacraments might be preserved for their descendants unadulterated according to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as set forth in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. The Lord grant this. Amen.[13]

Upon the completion of the new college building, the exultation of the Norwegian-American community in America knew no bounds. The dedication exercises on October 14, 1865, were impressive and moving:

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[12] K. Maanedstidende, 1862, 6-8. Quoted by O. M. Norlie, "Religious Aim and Character," in Luther College Through Sixty Years (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922), p. 26.

[13] Historical sketch of the Norwegian Synod in cornerstone. Quoted by Norlie, op. cit., p. 27.

> This was the greatest festival hitherto celebrated among the Norwegian Lutherans of this country, and besides the ministers of the Synod, who were at that time assembled in Decorah for the purpose of holding a general conference, great numbers even from far distant congregations had come to take part in the dedication. With admiring surprise they witnessed the grandeur and beauty of the building; they almost failed to comprehend how it was possible that it really was all finished and ready for use, and what already at the laying of the cornerstone had been urged: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad," the same was now felt and expressed with still greater ardor.
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> About six thousand people were present on this occasion....
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> Thus then the grand work, which eight years before only 7 clergymen and 25 congregations had begun, stood there completed. A small, young, and inexperienced society, not yet firmly established, and in the midst of tumultuous agitations in regard to various burning questions of doctrine, concerning which the contentions were partly inherited from the mother country, partly called forth by the peculiar church relations here, had nevertheless erected an edifice, the cost of which on the day of its dedication was $75,000.[14]

The enthusiasm over this great achievement of the Church was not entirely shared by the students. Some of these were not willing to be as regimented as the Church and Luther College rules would have them. A student rebellion in the midst of the festivities was colorfully described by Rasmus B. Anderson, later ambassador, writer, newspaper editor and one of the first from the Norwegian group to make a name for himself outside his own circle. Anderson was the leader of the revolt and its hero according to his own account. The description of the rebellion painted almost a ludicrous picture, but it did reflect the students' resentment and gave a good account of the rather primitive conditions of the college.

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[14] J. Th. Ylvisaker, The Norwegian Luther College (Decorah, Iowa: Printed by Luth. Pub. House, 1890), pp. 25-26. See also Luther College Through Sixty Years, p. 387, and K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 170.

> The discipline at this school during its early years was most severe and rigid, particularly when we consider the mature years of the great majority of its students [sic!]. I cannot conceive of such strict rules governing a body of students unless it should be at West Point or Annapolis....[15]

A petition to have conditions in the new building improved was written in English, of itself a gesture of defiance. It concluded:

> If we do not get this, we all leave immediately, being unwilling to sacrifice our health and comfort for the purpose of satisfying the tyrannical and aristocratical lust of the professors.[16]

The rebellion failed; one by one the students recanted, with the exception of the redoubtable Anderson. Anderson was forthwith expelled, escorted unceremoniously from the campus in the dead of night. For twenty-five years thereafter he did not receive his degree, although on the list of graduates his name now heads all the rest.

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[15] R. Anderson, Life Story, p. 44.

[16] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 181.

Rasmus Anderson had, of course, committed a gross error in the eyes of all Lutherans and particularly the orthodox Norwegian Synod. To this group all government and authority was of God and insurrection of any kind was unthinkable. It was this position that could make one of the Synod stalwarts write, "The American Revolution was an ungodly insurrection," and the Declaration of Independence "a product of the spirit of lies."[17]

The rebellion was officially recognized by the church body in a terse announcement about the expulsion of Anderson: "With God's help we got rid of that weed."[18]

Larsen himself wrote about the affair in "Protokol," a diary in his own handwriting which recorded the important events of the college during its formative years:

> A discontented and rebellious sentiment had made its way among students, through which they were disturbed from working at what they had been assigned. The unfortunate situation resulted in the expulsion of R. Anderson as the leader and as one who stubbornly continued in the most shameless judgment and speech concerning teachers; his expulsion taking place in the presence of the assembled pastoral conference and with its approval, whereupon the rest of the participants in the conspiracy, one by one, asked for and received pardon.[19]

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[17] V. Koren, Samlede Skrifter (Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1911), III, 40-43.

[18] Beretning om Det 3Dje Overordentlige Synodemøde, 22de-28de juni, 1866 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1866), 87.

[19] L. Larsen, "Protocol with Daily Register for the Norwegian-Evangelical Lutheran Educational Institution for the Education of Ministers," (Unpublished journal, Decorah, Iowa, n.d.), No. 1, p. 77.

Although stubborn at the time of his expulsion, Anderson wrote two years later to Larsen in a humbler mood. The letter indicated something of the character of both men as well as the quality of education Luther College offered:

> Meanwhile I have discovered that the foundation which I laid in the Decorah College was broader, deeper and finer than that which I could have obtained at any American school of which I have knowledge.[20]

The college never became a seminary for the education of ministers, although the college education of men who were to become pastors remained its primary function. This paramount aim, reiterated time and again, became the focus for the curriculum and the raison d'etre for the college.

Larsen fully accepted the Lutheran concept that a classical education and thorough competence in the languages was necessary in the preparation of ministers. On the frontier of the 1860's and 1870's this objective was difficult to maintain, but Larsen was uncompromising in holding out for "thorpughness."

> We try to carry on all instruction, not with American steam, but with old-fashioned thoroughness. We are old-fashioned Lutherans and wish no pretense without content, no shell without kernel. In no wise do we wish our students to

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[20] Letter to L. Larsen from R. B. Anderson, 1867, in the Larsen papers, Koren Library, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

> learn anything that serves principally for making wind, but wish to give their education a true classical foundation. This is scorned in our times because donkey eyes cannot see how it may be turned into money, yet without it our "civilized" age would soon sink into barbarism. Such thoroughness takes time, diligence, and patience; it gives humility because it leads us to see how little we know and how little we can do; and at the same time it awakens true self-esteem and appreciation of the worth of man, because it draws out and develops the mental powers in man--created as he is in the image of God--powers of which the superficially half-educated are hardly conscious and scarcely catch a glimpse. In addition to this striving for; thoroughness, let us mention our equally earnest effort to maintain Christian discipline and order, to let the Word of God dominate our life and actions, and to do all our work for the glory of God and the promotion of His kingdom. We have then briefly stated the fundamental characteristics of that spirit which we wish to permeate our school.[21]

Since 1882, when the Luther College Catalog first began to appear in English, the aim of the college has been repeatedly stated in catalogs thus:

> The institution owes its origin to the growing demand for educated men who could preach the Word of Life to the rapidly increasing Norwegian population of this country. The chief aim of the College is to provide a liberal and thorough education for the young men who intend later to enter the ministry; but it welcomes any youth who desires to avail himself of its advantages. Believing that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge," the College regards mental training without Christian faith and love as possessing but a doubtful value; and it desires through its religious instruction and Christian influence,

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[21] K. Larsen in K. Maanedstidende, 12 (1867), 361. Quoted by K. Larsen, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

> to reach as many as possible also of those who do not intend to serve the Church as pastors, as it is confident that those who have been educated on the basis of Christian principles will, also in other occupations, exert a beneficial influence among their fellowmen.[22]

Establishing a Course of Study

Lay pressures had brought about the immediate beginning of Luther College.[23] Even before the building could be completed, classes began in the parsonage near La Crosse, Wisconsin. This building both housed and gave classroom space for the first students and their teachers during 1861-1862.

The first instructors were Larsen and the Rev. F. A. Schmidt, a "Missouri" pastor. This additional tie with the German Synod was undoubtedly an asset for the newly-chosen professor, but one of the chief reasons given for his choice was that he was conversant with English. Larsen from the first recognized that eventually English must become the common language of everyone,[24] and Schmidt's election was his first public deference to this opinion.

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[22] Luther College Catalog, 1882.

[23] The history of the early beginnings are recorded by Larsen himself in Katalog for det Norske Luther-College, (Decorah, Iowa: Trykkt in B. Anundsens Bogtrykkeri, 1872); in Bothne, op. cit.; in Luther College Through Sixty Years; in Symra, IX (1913), 162-170, 241-250; VI (1910), 217-238, among other sources.

[24] Katalog for det Norske Luther-College, 1872, p. 24. See Appendix, p. 453.

Boys were admitted in the beginning at the age of fourteen, sometimes with little formal education. About all that was essential was knowledge of religion sufficient to be confirmed, a presentable handwriting, and the ability to read Norwegian easily and well.[25]

The arrangement of classes was that of the familiar Latin School--Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, Quinta, and Sexta--with Prima being the top class.[26] At first, the boys were few--only eleven the first year, but a new location the next year made it possible to have thirty-three students. With the enormity of the teaching task it was necessary to combine the classes. The first year there were two classes only. As the school grew, however, more teachers were added, and better facilities became available, Larsen was able to put his plan for a course of study into effect. His own ideas on what education should be were outlined in 1872, in the first catalogue of Luther College:

> Let us examine a little more closely what our students should learn in the six years here, and it will not be so difficult to understand that they must use the time well in order to manage it, while on the other hand it would be rather difficult to show that any of this knowledge would be superfluous. As the chief subject must first and foremost be named the ancient languages, and among them chiefly Latin,

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[25] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 140.

[26] Katalog...1872, p. 25. See Appendix, p. 455.

> whereby also such schools in Norway have gotten the name "Latin Schools," while the Germans call them "gymnasia," and the Americans call it "colleges." Latin should be learned so well that the students, when they have completed the school, should be able to read Latin books without difficulty and write the language fairly correctly so that they, when they come to St. Louis, quickly can become accustomed to understand lectures in Latin and to speak the language in the examination. So much Greek should be learned that the students with ease and sureness can read the *New Testament* in this, its original language. Of Hebrew, so much that they with diligence and work can understand the *Old Testament*'s original language. Here it must also be taken into consideration that these ancient languages are far more difficult than any of the newer ones, so that these three together will take up almost half of the time in these six years. In the remaining years they shall first learn to speak and write Norwegian correctly and with skill, which here in this country is much more difficult than in Norway. Moreover, English and German shall be learned so well that the students in any case later would soon acquire the ability to use these languages in speaking and writing when it is necessary. They should in addition learn geography, and not only that of America, but also that of the rest of the world; they should get a somewhat complete overview of world history; of mathematics they should learn arithmetic, algebra, and geometry; they should also learn some natural science; and finally--at the end comes the most important--they shall acquire a basic and thorough knowledge of Christianity.[27]

The course of study was rigid, prescriptive and relatively narrow--languages, religion, history were stressed almost to the exclusion of science--but the training was extremely thorough. The subjects taught and the hours per week for each class follow:[28]

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[27] *Katalog*...1872, pp. 18-19. See Appendix, pp.439-440 . Cf. *K. Maanedstidende*, XIII(March 1, April 1, 15, 1868), 69-72, 92-108, 113-122.

Latin School

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Explanation of Catechism	2	2	3	3	2	2
Bible History					2	2
Latin	6	6	6	6	6	6
Greek	4	4	4	4		
Hebrew	4					
German	2	2	2	2	3	
English	2	2	3	3	3	4
Norwegian	2	2	2	2	2	4
Logic	1	1				
History	2	2	2	2		2
Geography					2	2
Science					3	
Mathematics		3	2	2	2	2
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2
Penmanship					1	2

These subjects were to constitute the basic program at Luther College for generations.

The remarks of Andrew Veblen, the first "American" professor and the first who had not been educated at a Lutheran school (he was graduated from Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, in 1877), were a rich source of information. His unpublished manuscript, "At Luther College, 1877-1881," gave a contemporary record from a somewhat "objective" point of view. He stated,

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[28] Katalog...1872, p. 26. For the program of the teacher-training department, see Appendix, p. 457.

> ...But in many important matters the college continued long to be patterned on Norwegian (and German) practice and methods. Standards appealed to and precedents cited were those of Norway rather than of America; that is by the older men, whose education had been attained mainly in Norwegian institutions. Perhaps the most extreme was this Bothne [an early professor], who at the time was bitterly opposed to all things American in school methods and practice, and who invariably cited the custom or rule that was applicable "hjemme" [at home].
>
> The time given to preparation by the students aggregated scarcely more than half the time spent in recitation or class exercises, but for the highest classes the division of time between preparation and recitation was more nearly even. This system required longer hours of instruction than the usual American academy and college. "Full work" for a regular member of a faculty varied from twenty-four to twenty-seven hours a week.[29]

Examining and Rejecting the American College

Luther College was founded by immigrant Norwegians who had little contact with America, since the Church tended to shield its people from American culture and attempted to be self-sufficient. The only significant contact with any other people, the German Lutheran group, served only to reaffirm and reinforce educational viewpoints which the Norwegians already held. Synod pastors were, in fact, often contemptuous of "Yankees" and American education.

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[29] A. Veblen, "At Luther College, 1877-1881," (Unpublished Ms., Veblen papers, Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul, n.d.), n.p.

H. A. Preus, writing in Maanedstidende in 1864, said,

> If it were a matter of establishing a college on the American pattern I would not advise giving one cent, I think, even if the instruction in the secular subjects were much more thorough than it is as a rule.[30]

Others of Maanedstidende's contributors expressed similar ideas:

> So far as nationalities go, we stand much closer to the Germans than the Yankees who can scarcely be said to have any other nationality than the one Henrik Wergeland [Norwegian nationalistic poet] describes when he says that the Yankee heart is a gold dollar.[31]

Larsen, however, felt the need of closer contact with American schools. Soon after the completion of the new building (May, 1866) he decided to spend a month in visiting some American institutions. Apparently some of Larsen's associates felt that

> ...American schools were superior along practical lines of arrangement and equipment, but they evidently thought there was

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[30] Article in K. Maanedstidende, 1864, p. 167.

[31] K. Maanedstidende, May 1856, p. 215.

> little to be learned of a more strictly intellectual nature.[32]

Larsen kept a diary of the trip.[33] In minute detail he recorded his impressions on everything from the kind of desks used to the nature and the scope of each college's program of study. Generally he conceded that on practical details--"admirable school desks" at the University of Wisconsin, a splendid oven at Oberlin--the American schools had something to offer. In thoroughness and scholarship he remained quite certain that his own college was superior to the American institutions visited. These schools were the University of Wisconsin in Madison, Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin, the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, a high school in Cleveland, Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, and Concordia College, now moved from St. Louis to Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Some particularly revealing comments follow:

Wisconsin:

> ...The whole large central building--which five years ago cost $65,000 and now would probably have cost $100,000, but is not so large or beautiful as ours...
>
> I listened to a class in Virgil in the preparatory department, third year. They did not

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[32] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 186.

[33] An account of the trip and Larsen's diary are recorded in Laur. Larsen, "A Newcomer Looks at American Colleges," trans. and edited by Karen Larsen, Norwegian-American Studies and Records, X (1938), 107-126.

translate so badly; but there was little questioning about analysis and little explanation, and some of the answers given were poor.

...I was surprised both here and in Beloit that the students so often said they were not prepared, and that was all there was to it.

...At eleven o'clock, there came into the room a class, chiefly of girls from the normal school, who were to have mental philosophy--terrible humbug....[34]

Beloit:

...From eleven to twelve, I listened to him [Professor Blaisdell] teach mental philosophy in the junior class. This too was humbug; much time was taken up in discussions between the teacher and a student, in which the teacher was not able to handle the questions....

From three-thirty to four-thirty, I listened to the class in first year's Greek; the junior class in the preparatory department,...It was the most wretched teaching I have heard....

At the last meeting, I was asked to lead in prayer, but naturally I refused.

Fort Wayne:

...I can scarcely enumerate, nor count and measure, the many suggestions, the amount of information, the comfort and encouragement I received through this brotherly discussion with men who are doing their work with a view to the welfare of the same church as we do....

The thought that we ought to study a little more mathematics and natural science, as the English schools do, had troubled me somewhat. After discussions with the teachers in Fort Wayne, I concluded that, for the present, we probably have enough mathematics, and that the natural sciences might perhaps be studied through a brief popular text and voluntary lectures, attended by those who think they can afford the time, though as a rule only by members of the upper classes.

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[34] Ibid., pp. 110, 111, 112.

[35] Ibid., pp. 113, 115.

Of philosophy, which I had also been considering, the teachers in Fort Wayne think nothing is needed beyond a little logic,...[36]

Ann Arbor:

...It seemed strange, however, that a class [Greek] so advanced should give the teacher a chance to make the kind of corrections he did....

...I am not surprised that after this kind of study everything is forgotten in a few years. I could see how it was possible to give a rather fluent translation without grammatical knowledge. These recitations gave me a clearer insight into the method which, no doubt, is generally used in this country also in Latin....It is strange that French is given preference over German....

...Then I learned that they really have less Latin and Greek in the college than we have,...[37]

Cleveland:

...May 21, I visited the city high school ...The course is planned for four years and the students are therefore divided into four classes.

It happened that during the four first periods I could observe the Latin teaching in all classes,...and I chose this rather than all those natural sciences which occupy so much of the time....The children did not behave well and knew little....The teacher could not decline ostia....[38]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 117-118.

[37] Ibid., pp. 120-121, 121-122.

[38] Ibid., p. 124.

Oberlin:

> ...Most of the teaching in these lower classes is done by students who teach one or two hours a day for twenty-five or thirty cents an hour....
>
> People there seem to have a very high opinion of the moral influence of the institution, and attribute this to its religious character. They have reached the conviction that schooling without religion is not much good; but they believe that the English district school can be made into a religious school "of a truly catholic character" by prayer and the reading and explanation of the Scriptures. The day I was at Oberlin there were examinations, and almost every period was opened with prayer.[39]

Larsen learned much more on the trip than he noted on paper, and it was indeed a profitable trip to the young college president who had never before, in the almost nine years he had been in America, stepped into an American institution of higher learning. He carefully noted the texts used at the American schools and evidently intended to consider using some of them at home. Minute details of methods employed were reported; for example, small cards for recording recitations; more efficient use of blackboard work by students, especially in mathematics; greater emphasis on student participation in discussions. He commented, generally with an obvious feeling of superiority, on various dissimilarities in curriculum, such as a far greater emphasis on natural science and philosophy, the beginnings of psychology, and a decline in the study of the classical languages.

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[39] Ibid., p. 126. The impression of Oberlin College was especially unfavorable. He wrote privately that he had found there "the very pinnacle of Yankee humbug and conceit." K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 187.

The greater freedom students in Yankee institutions were given, Larsen understood as disrespect and laxity in discipline. He viewed with some skepticism the coeducation he found.

> In speaking of Madison I should have mentioned that, in reply to my questions, the teachers declared that having both sexes together caused them no difficulties. I suppose it depends on how you take it.[40]

Undoubtedly Larsen's estimates of the American institutions were often chauvinistic and unfair in many respects. Though these outside contacts were not pursued and colored his opinions of American colleges for a long time thereafter, nevertheless, the ultimate results may have been very far-reaching.[41]

The visit served, however, to reassure Larsen of the efficacy of the Luther College program. For a considerable time the college was to continue to base its curriculum and methodology upon the cultural baggage of its founders, reinforced by German contacts rather than modified by American influences.

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[40] L. Larsen, "A Newcomer Looks...," p. 117.

[41] Almost alone among the other Synod pastors, Larsen encouraged his own children to pursue graduate work at America's great state universities, and several of them are today well-known scholars in the wider field of American letters.

Problems of Building a Faculty

The little college, begun in such an unpretentious fashion with only two professors, soon discovered that one of its major difficulties would be to secure a competent and properly oriented faculty.[42] Since there was little contact with the American scene, the field was largely limited to university-trained men from Norway, graduates of the German Lutheran schools, and later graduates of Luther College itself. One additional difficulty made the problem acute: the unquestioned preference of Synod men for the ministry rather than teaching as a profession.[43]

Pastors Loren, H. A. Preus, and others of the Synod did not teach at the college to any great extent, although, like Larsen, they were eminently qualified to do so. That Larsen remained in the teaching profession was a testimony to his sense of duty rather than his desire to teach.

Replacements from Norway were not easy to secure, partly because the Synod and the Church of Norway had grown suspicious of one another. Norway was in the midst of a struggle between high- and low-church elements and had moved towards more religious freedom.[44] Relations were even more strained as a result of the Synod stand on slavery. Norwegians were not inclined to come to America, nor was the Synod quite sure of the imports from Norway. The advocates of den rene lære (the pure doctrine) wanted to be sure of the theological position of its men. When H. A. Preus wanted Larsen to find a new faculty member in Norway on one of Larsen's trips there, Larsen replied that it was better to find a man trained in America, who would be a good English scholar. "We need fresh forces, while everything imported from Norway has to be more or less recast."[45]

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[42] K. Larsen, op. cit., pp.238 ff.

[43] See above, Chapter III, p. 90.

Of the two new men who did come from Norway, in the early years O. J. Breda had studied theology among the Missourians. This made him "safe," although he returned to Christiania for two years to study philology in order to prepare for becoming professor of Greek at Luther. The other professor, Thrond J. Bothne, came directly from Norway to teach Norwegian. It was perhaps worth while to note that, although he was a stimulating teacher, some suspicion was aroused about the kind of literature he introduced.[46]

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[44] Molland, op. cit., p. 48 et passim.

[45] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 239.

The Missouri Synod came to the aid of the Norwegians by training Luther College graduates in order that they might return to their alma mater. Three such men, L. S. Reque, Gisle Bothne, and Christian A. Naeseth, "were the mainstay of the faculty for many years."[47] These were the first, also, who had done graduate work in American universities in addition to their work at Concordia Seminary.

The first graduate of an American college, Andrew A. Veblen, brother of the noted sociologist, Thorstein Veblen, came to Luther in 1877. As was noted,[48] he received his undergraduate degree from Carleton College, in Northfield, Minnesota. His employment came because of the immediate need at Luther of someone trained in English. His account of his period at Luther was most illuminating of conditions at the college in 1877-1881, as he was the first teacher without the loyalties shared by the other faculty members. Veblen wrote about his debut at Luther:

> It was explained to me that my work would not be that for which Breda had been elected; but would be in such branches as I might best be able to serve the needs of the college....

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[46] Pastor U. V. Koren, after inspecting some books just arrived from Norway, demanded that the shipment be returned. K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 240.

[47] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 246.

[48] *Supra*, pp. 172-173.

He [Professor Larsen] insisted that I should have the class "beginning Latin," Sexta, which was the designation of the class entering the school. The classes were known as Prima, Secunda, and down to Sexta, the course consisting of six years' preparatory school and college work.

The assignment of any class in Latin to me and most of all that of the beginners, was a surprise to me. The truth of the matter was that no one on the staff was willing to take it, and as the faculty had the authority to make the programs, and I was not present to make a protest, they simply decided to make me take it. But I had heard remarks from different persons who had been educated either at Norwegian or German institutions in America, including President Larsen himself, to the effect that the classics, and especially Latin, were not taught properly and thoroughly and were not at all learned at American higher schools. The medium of instruction in Latin at L. C. was to be Norwegian, by a Norwegian text book (Voss) and I had no schooling in Norwegian and was unfamiliar with the grammatical terms. I should be obliged to use in conducting recitation in the Norwegian language.

In view of the derogatory remarks made by the class of men who were to be my colleagues, about American institutions of learning, such as Carleton College in which I had received my training, and especially as the unfavorable opinion concerning American schools was applied to the whole system and the methods pursued in them, my selection to fill the vacancy at Luther College was an entirely unexpected surprise. But I was slightly acquainted with Mr. Muus and of course my pastor, Mr. Quamme, vouched for my being safe as to character and orthodox faith, and the favorable regard of these two men as well as others, like Professor Reque, of my acquaintance, seems to have decided the L. C. people to make the experiment of using a man whose entire training had been received in one of these self-same American colleges.

...Sexta was a large class, more than sixty in the beginning. Few of them had had any

> systematic training in school, and it fell to me to do the major part of the work breaking them in.[49]

Veblen must have experienced a certain degree of unhappiness while at Luther College, and his terse reply to a later questionnaire about his religious connections, "Lutheran until 1881"[50] told much about his reaction to his stay at the college.

Americanization came slowly to Luther College. Unquestionably this was due to its relative isolation, both geographical and ideological, from other American schools. American contacts could hardly be avoided altogether, however, and students and teachers exposed to some American education gradually changed the face of the institution. Veblen, the American teacher, gave much credit to "the American national pastime" as an Americanizing influence. Luther College took up baseball with much enthusiasm.

> When I came there [1877], I think English and Norwegian were used to about an equal extent among the boys on the campus, except for baseball which could hardly be played except in English. It was the chief sport at Luther College and I believe one is justified in crediting the gradual Americanization of the college partly to the influence of "the national game."[51]

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[49] Veblen, op. cit., n. p.

[50] Veblen papers, Minnesota State Historical Society, St.Paul.

[51] Veblen, op. cit., n. p.

President Larsen perhaps was somewhat more liberal in his viewpoint if the observations of his daughter can be accepted:

> He realized that an institution modeled upon an Old World Latin School, which had been sufficient for the newcomers in the sixties, could not satisfy the new generation of Norwegian-Americans in the eighties. It became his policy, therefore, to adjust the college to meet the needs of a new age without losing sight of its special function as a servant of the church that had erected it. His position was not easy, for each step meant a battle. The ultra-conservative leaders looked upon every change with suspicion. They feared that it might weaken the devotion of the college to the service of the church, and thought that anyway change was unnecessary....Larsen often found himself in opposition to some of the very men who had been his associates and closest friends as far back as the fifties. He was the youngest in this group of pioneer ministers, and he seems to have retained a certain youthfulness longer than any of the others. He felt the need of change earlier. As the years passed, his views became more liberal and his demands on the students less exacting. For support he thus came to look mainly to the faculty and to the more liberal group among the alumni.[52]

Although, in the selection of faculty, Larsen saw more clearly than most of the older Synod pastors the need of men with American backgrounds, nevertheless the choice of men showed an unwillingness on the part of all to cut the umbilical cord. For the first sixty years of Luther College's history the faculty were overwhelmingly chosen from institutions controlled by or in sympathy with the Norwegian Synod. The actual number of faculty members during the first sixty years, and the place of their undergraduate training, were as follows: men trained at Luther College, 65; from Norway, usually the University in Christiania (Oslo), 15; men from German Lutheran schools in America, 5; Red Wing Seminary (Hauge Synod), 2; St. Olaf College (Norwegian Lutheran), 1; Reykjavik (Iceland), 1; Galesville, Wisconsin (a Lutheran college), 1; Carleton College, 1; University of Minnesota, 2. Of a total of ninety-three men listed as regular faculty members, 65, or approximately seventy per cent, were alumni of Luther College itself. Only three were graduates of non-Lutheran colleges.[53]

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[52] K. Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

It was true, of course, that the requirements for faculty members at Luther--thorough classical training and strict adherence to Lutheran doctrine as interpreted by the Norwegian Synod--limited the field and largely eliminated the possibility of using men from state institutions and even private colleges run by what Lutherans would have labeled "the sects."

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[53] Compiled by the writer from a list of faculty 1861-1921, from Luther College Through Sixty Years, pp. 100-125.

Finance and Control

The history of financial support for Luther College was one of sacrifice and crisis. Only in recent years were any large amounts of money raised towards an endowment.[54]

Most of the money for the support of the college came from the Norwegian Lutheran Church[55] and from contributions, particularly from alumni. In the early years no fees were charged the students except forty dollars for board. The students, of course, were generally expected to enter the service of the church.[56] Paying for the training of prospective ministers had no small measure of self-interest for the supporting synod.

In the early days of the Synod, even before it had been officially organized, people were asked to give to a fund known as "the University Fund," for the educational work of the church. In those days, when money was so scarce among the newly-arrived immigrants,[57] the church fathers had the temerity to hope that a large number of them might subscribe one hundred dollars each. Since not many even possessed that much money, people were urged to make the pledge and then to pay interest on the principal until they could pay the pledge in full.[58]

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[54] The beginning of a general endowment fund was in 1910-12. The chief impetus for a drive at that time was the necessity of raising $200,000 in order to receive a gift of $50,000 from James J. Hill, the railroad tycoon. See K. O. Eittreim, "Income," in _Luther College Through Sixty Years_, p. 170. Another reason for urgency was a desire to obtain accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This aim was achieved in 1915. See Theresa B. Wilkins, _Accredited Higher Institutions, 1960_ (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960. Office of Education, Bulletin 1960, No. 24), p. 12.

[55] During the first sixty years of the college's existence, three-fourths of the funds came from the church, and one-fourth only from students. See Eittreim, _op. cit_., p. 170.

[56] _Ibid_., p. 173.

When he served at Concordia College in St. Louis, before the founding of Luther College, Larsen was expected to live on interest from the pledges received by the University Fund.

> So the professor's salary came in little driblets; he had to keep his own accounts of it and send receipts both to the local congregation and to the general treasurer.... But just as he was getting things under way, money ceased to come in, and his income for the first half-year averaged about twenty-five dollars a month.[59]

Money matters were never easy, even in later years. When the college constructed its new and wonderful building, the financial obstacles often seemed insurmountable. Larsen wrote about the events of 1865:

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[57] Much of the time contributions to the college were made "in kind": clothing for the students, hams, eggs, chickens and other foodstuffs for the dining room, small articles to be sold for the benefit of the college.

[58] K. Maanedstidende, III (January, 1858), 14-16.

[59] Larsen, op. cit., p. 101.

> ...The building cost about $75,000, and we have hardly ever had money; very seldom was there a couple of thousand dollars in the treasury for a short time; more often, on the other hand, we did not know on Saturday how on Monday we were going to find $1,000 to pay the wages of the large number of workers. There was nothing to do but to commit the problem to God and pray that, even if He wanted to shame us into well-deserved humility, He would nevertheless vindicate the glory of His Name and not let this cause for which we were working become a laughing-stock for those outside the church. And the Lord always helped at the right time, He spared us also from disgrace. We could always satisfy the demands made upon us, and our credit was always, as it always later has been, as good as possible.[60]

A constant annoyance to the president was the fact that control of even the smallest details remained largely in the hands of the church. Even after the college was incorporated, the control remained in the Synod's hands exclusively. This was regarded by all as the proper arrangement, since control of its institution for the preparation of future ministers was essential to it. The impelling motive which brought Luther College into being and directed the sacrifices made again and again on its behalf was the mission of training young people for service in the church.

The control was also assured when the Articles of Incorporation were amended to prepare for the major church merger of 1917. Article 3 provided that the membership of the Corporation

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[60] _Katalog_... 1872, p. 12.

> ...consist of the pastors of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran congregations connected with the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America and the representation of said congregations at the regular triennial meeting of said church chosen in accordance with discipline and usage.[61]

A set of By-laws adopted in 1871 stipulated that the church council should constitute a Board of Visitors for the college. The Board of Visitors were given the power to fix the number, dates and salary of the professors, to determine the admission standards, and to make rules for the Board of Trustees.

Earlier, the Board of Visitors had the right to hire and discharge professors. This regulation became extremely difficult to manage, since it almost necessitated a meeting of the Synod for each decision. The situation was corrected by announcing vacancies in Kirketidende, the official organ of the church, at least four weeks before the nomination was to be made. The nomination was made by the church council and the permanent members of the church. This announcement also appeared in Kirketidende.[62]

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[61] Article 3, Articles of Incorporation of Luther College. See Appendix, p. 482.

[62] Article 5, By-Laws of Luther College. See Appendix, pp. 484-485.

A Board of Trustees of eight members was entrusted with the management of the affairs of the corporation, but a number of restrictions left the real control in the hands of the church. For example,

> ...in no event shall the trustees be authorized to expend annually a greater sum than $1000 (one thousand dollars) without first submitting the same to the annual meeting of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America for their approval.[63]

A Board of Christian Education was established when the new church body, the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, came into being in 1917. The Board of Christian Education was given the authority in administrative affairs and in matters related to the course of study at the college. Its membership consisted of three pastors, three laymen and the president of the church, *ex officio*. The Board was empowered to appoint an executive secretary to direct the work in the Lutheran colleges.[64]

Administration

The role of the administrator at Luther College was never easy, partly because the real control of the college was retained by the church, and partly because shortage of faculty and funds gave the president many and varied tasks. As the college grew, sheer necessity forced the sharing of the tasks. Larsen, who was president from 1861-1902, performed almost every conceivable function. Gradually, however, as the college developed, departmentalization became necessary and delegation of responsibility followed. This delegation of authority was intimately correlated with the college and the underlying motives of the church. A brief survey of some of the changes could provide an outline of the college's growth.

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[63] Article 1, By-Laws. See Appendix, p. 483.

[64] D. T. Nelson, "Government and Administration," in *Luther College Through Sixty Years*, p. 52.

The first major change came in 1867 when the library was turned over to one of the professors. The library did not have a full-time librarian until 1915. Thus for almost half the time the school has been in existence, it has functioned without a librarian.

Until 1889 the president was fully responsible for all classes and class instruction, including the preparatory as well as the college division. At that time (1889) the preparatory department secured its own principal, who served as supervisor of the program of studies for his own department.

A museum maintained by the college was given over to the care of one of the professors in 1890. The museum, now the Norwegian-American Historical Museum, has served as an important factor in continuing Luther College's retention of historical past and tradition.[65]

Not until 1895 did a treasurer take that responsibility from the president's shoulders. In all the early years Larsen had been treasurer not only of Luther College but also of the church as a whole. This situation arose because almost all the funds raised by the church went to Luther College. In 1869 Larsen was formally elected treasurer of the Synod and held that office for two years. Larsen helped his successor as church treasurer through many years of financial crisis.

> The financial system, if it can be dignified by that term, was in many ways primitive and yet complicated; and it might easily have become chaotic but for the character of the two men who carried the responsibility. The duties of each were not clearly defined, yet there was no discord. Larsen continued to be in charge of many little funds; and gifts other than money still continued to come in, all of which must be accounted for.[66]

A registrar's office was not organized until 1914. The president wrote his own letters by hand; in fact, Larsen never had a secretary. In 1917 a secretary was employed who served also as an office assistant.

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[65] For a fuller discussion of the changes in administrative functions see D. T. Nelson, "Government and Administration," pp. 53-56.

[66] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 207.

The maintenance of discipline was one of the heaviest burdens of the president. Again this was extremely difficult because he was under the constant surveillance of the church. The president for many years lived in the college building with the students and thought of himself as having been given the role of father for all of them. When a men's dormitory was built, responsibility for discipline in that building was turned over to a professor who resided there. From 1919 on, a dean of men took over much of the responsibility for discipline. In serious matters of breach of rules, however, the president always had a part in making decisions.[67]

Public relations were not a part of the president's responsibility except insofar as he was answerable to the church which he served. Larsen wrote notices and articles about the college for the church papers and later, as editor of Kirketidende (1868-1889), constructively publicized the cause of Luther College. While the fundamental purpose of the college was primarily that of preparing servants for the church, there was little necessity for calling the work of the college to the attention of the wider American public. Only when general support was needed, as in the case of the first endowment drive (1910-1912), did the value of a public relations department become fully apparent. The development of a public relations department became increasingly important from this date.

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[67] The writer was dean of men at Luther College 1954-1956.

Summary

Dedicated to its mission of Soli Deo Gloria (To God Alone the Glory), Luther College clung with remarkable tenacity to its original purpose. In countless ways it promoted and defended its appointed role: "the preparation of qualified ministers for the service of the Church."

The leaders at the college were themselves trained in the classical tradition of the Latin Schools of Norway. It was, therefore, hardly surprising that this training became the pattern for the pioneer school among Norwegian Lutherans in America.

Fortunately for the Norwegians they early discovered a kindred spirit among the German Lutherans at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri. This discovery enabled the Norwegian Synod to send its young men to St. Louis for their theological training and allowed Luther College to concentrate on preparation for the seminary rather than on the theological training itself.

Secure in the opinion that the purpose and design of their educational plan was the correct one, uncompromising in their demands for competence and thoroughness in training, the Luther College founders built a college that had few contacts with the American environment. When Laur. Larsen, Luther's first president, visited American colleges in the Middle West in 1866, he found little that could commend them to him. He felt his own institution to be more dedicated, more thorough, less prone to give attention to the trivial.

The college could not remain indefinitely separated from outside contacts, as Larsen fully knew. Faculty and students alike brought outside influences, although for many years the faculty were trained almost exclusively at Lutheran institutions, and students came from Lutheran homes.

Americanization came slowly, delayed by Norwegian chauvinism and paternalism. When new innovations did arrive, however, they were never allowed to interfere with the original objectives of the college. The Christian foundation of Luther College remained its cornerstone.

CHAPTER VII

CONTENTION ARISES IN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY: AUGSBURG COLLEGE AND LATER COLLEGES

Norwegian churchmen found the transplanting of Lutheranism to American soil a difficult process, often intensifying the differences in emphasis which had separated them within the State Church at home. The early arrivals soon discovered that the Lutheran Church in Norway did not remain constant, and later arrivals often reflected the changes time brought.

Two later arrivals to America, Professors Sven Oftedal and Georg Sverdrup of Augsburg College and Seminary, brought contention with a new spirit and approach in education. Both were trained at the Royal Frederick University in Christiania, but both had absorbed much of the democratic atmosphere prevalent in the Norway of the 1850's and 1860's.[1] Georg Sverdrup, moreover, was the nephew of the famous Johan Sverdrup (1816-1892), prime minister of Norway who did much to bring about political reform.[2]

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[1] B. J. Hovde, The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865. Vol. I (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, [1943] pp. 561-565 et passim.

[2] See Andreas Helland, Georg Sverdrup, The Man and His Message (Minneapolis: Messenger Press, [1947]), p. 14. The name Sverdrup is an extremely famous one in

In America Oftedal and Sverdrup effected a theological "middle way" in cooperation with low church leaders and dissatisfied former Synod pastors. Augsburg College and Seminary became a rallying point for a merger of forces into a new church body and a vehicle for Sverdrup's educational theory.

The church union thus brought about could not last, however. The crisis that precipitated its destruction was the bitter quarrel over the plan and control of education at Augsburg. The final break resulted in a lengthy law suit, a new church body, the establishment and development of new educational institutions, and deep wounds that were not easily assuaged.

It is of the educational plan of Augsburg College, as compared and contrasted with that of Luther College, and of a new college that assumed a unique role because of church disagreements, that this chapter deals. A brief survey of the founding purposes of other Norwegian Lutheran colleges concludes the chapter.

Augsburg College Lays Its Foundations

From the beginning, Augsburg College and Theological Seminary had considerable contact with men and

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[2] (Cont.) Norway. Georg Sverdrup's grand-uncle and a brother, as well as his uncle, were gifted politicians and leaders in the Church.

institutions not intimately aligned with Norwegian Lutheranism. These associations began with Swedish and Danish Lutherans who, together with the Norwegians, had established their own synod and school in Paxton, Illinois,[3] giving to both the name Augustana.

The Scandinavian Augustana Synod was largely Swedish, which caused considerable discontent among the Norwegians. The latter wanted to call their own professor to the seminary. The Norwegians finally succeeded in calling the Reverend August Weenaas in 1866,[4] but he did not arrive in America until the summer of 1868.[5]

Dissatisfaction began soon after Weenaas' arrival, due in large measure to the confusion in languages and the nationalistic spirit of the Norwegians.[6] Weenaas also gave expression to some misgivings regarding the preparatory division of the established Augustana College.

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[3] Originally the Scandinavians had been associated with a Lutheran group that had founded the "State University of Illinois." These Lutherans were under "American" influence (from the Franckean Synod) and two of their Scandinavian leaders, Anderson and Andrewson, had been trained in American institutions. See Chapter IV, p. 104 and V, p. 139.

[4] August Weenaas, Livserindringer fra Norge og Amerika (Bergen: A. S. Lunde, 1935), pp. 97-99.

[5] August Weenaas, Mindeblade, eller Otte Aar i Amerika (Volden, Norway: R. P. Hjelles Forlag, 1890), pp. 18-20.

[6] Bergh, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

The net result of the disagreement was the separation of the Norwegians to form their own institution (1869). A "school committee" and a board of trustees were elected by the Norwegians for the purpose of finding a suitable location and facilities for a proposed new school.[7]

The new board of trustees held a meeting June 29, 1869, in Marshall, Dane County, Wisconsin, to purchase the property of an academy that one of their members had been considering. Here again associations with other groups than Norwegian Lutherans became expedient and necessary. One of the provisions of the sale stipulated that an "American academy" should be conducted.[8] This proved to be quite a problem, partly because the Norwegians did not know what kind of education was offered at American academies, and partly because this necessarily brought about associations with others who were not of the Lutheran faith.

> A difficult problem presented itself at once over the unique combination of having a Norwegian Lutheran school for ministers and a creedless English institution, which the purchase of Marshall Academy had obligated us to have. I had neither any knowledge of how to conduct this specifically American institution nor any greater interest for it than

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[7] Den Norske Lutheraner, 1869, p. 113, quoted by Bernhardt J. Kleven, "History of the Norwegian-Danish Lutheran Conference" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1930), p. 7.

[8] Weenaas, Mindeblade, p. 26.

> to use it as a preparatory school for the preparation of ministers, for which use it very soon proved almost impossible.[9]

Nevertheless, the school opened September 1, 1869, with ten students; and within a week eight more had been added. Twenty-one were in attendance the first year. Eleven of these were seminarians and the rest students in the preparatory school.[10] On the tenth of November--Martin Luther's birthday--a dedication ceremony was held. The festivities were particularly interesting in that Lutheran pastors as well as American dignitaries were represented.

> ...Ministers from a number of communities and singers from Milwaukee came. Pastor O. J. Hatlestad opened the festivities with prayer, and talks were given by Pastors A. M. Johnson, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, J. Anderson, the American principal of the academy, F. Craig, the county superintendent of schools....
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> ...Pastor Johnson's lecture was, "The Necessity of Merging Moral and Intellectual Education."...Professor Anderson depicted the influence of intellectual development on the individual and on society. Mr. Craig spoke a word of welcome to the new institution of learning.[11]

The chief talk was given by Professor Weenaas on "The Uniqueness of the Lutheran Reformation."[12]

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[9] Ibid., p. 29. Principal Anderson of the Academy was a Congregationalist, and the "lady teacher" a Baptist. Andreas Helland, Augsburg Seminar, p. 51.

[10] Ibid., p. 45.

[11] Den Norske Lutheraner, 1869, p. 187.

[12] Helland, Augsburg Seminar, p. 46.

Thus, in characteristic Lutheran fashion, the high point of the day was reached when the significance of Martin Luther to the whole church was reiterated.

The combination of church seminary and uncommitted academy proved untenable for Norwegians interested mainly in the preparation of properly qualified Lutheran pastors. A solution to the dilemma was found in making the constitution for Marshall Academy a temporary measure.[13] The meeting of churchmen at Racine, Wisconsin, October 29, 1870, which made this decision also became involved in a heated discussion regarding ritual vestments, _et cetera_. The argument had no real connection with the seminary, although it was to have far-reaching results. The immediate consequence of theological disagreement was, in fact, a split of the Norwegian Augustana Synod into two synods; the Norwegian-Danish Lutheran Conference, which supported Augsburg Seminary, and the Norwegian Augustana Synod, which took possession of the Marshall school and developed it later into Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.[14]

On October 17, 1870, disagreement became overt action. Professor Anderson, principal of the Academy, presented a letter from Pastor Andrewson of the Norwegian

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[13] Kleven, _op_. _cit_., p. 8.

[14] Helland, _Augsburg_ _Seminar_, pp. 52 ff.

Augustana Synod ordering Professor Weenaas and his students from the building, owned by members of that Synod. For some time Weenaas and his students struggled to continue their seminary in Weenaas' home and under the most straitened conditions. Despite the loyalty and devotion of the students, this situation became impossible and a new and permanent home was sought.[15]

A committee to find a suitable location was chosen by the Conference, consisting, among others, of Professor Weenaas, Pastor C. L. Clausen, the irrepressible Rasmus B. Anderson, rebel from Luther College, now a professor at the University of Wisconsin, and the Reverend O. Paulson of Minneapolis, destined to become "the grandfather" of Augsburg College.[16]

The two most promising locations were Madison, Wisconsin, and Minneapolis. According to Rasmus B. Anderson, the nearness to a state university would be of great benefit to a seminary.

> A minister more than anyone else needs a many-sided education; his education should consist of a complete college course and thereupon a three-year course at a theological seminary before he is ordained to the holy work of the ministry....The Conference should make use of the state schools for the college education but retain the theological seminary. But then the seminary should be

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[15] *Ibid*., pp. 69 ff.

[16] *Ibid*., pp. 74 ff.

> should be founded near a place where the state has its school; there is such a place at St. Anthony [now Minneapolis], in Iowa's capitol, and here in Madison--I will now select Madison; because here in the first place I live [sic].[17]

Rasmus B. Anderson preferred Madison, but Minneapolis offered some real advantages. It was a settlement of increasing importance to Norwegian immigrants, and moreover, the state university offered free instruction in English, whereas these privileges cost about twenty dollars per student at the other universities. Students could then live at the proposed new seminary while availing themselves of instruction at the University.[18]

The choice fell to Minneapolis because of these practical advantages and because Pastor Paulson, minister of the Conference's Trinity Church in Minneapolis, worked arduously to raise funds for its location there. The account of Paulson's efforts on the behalf of Augsburg reflected contacts with those not of Norwegian heritage and the part they played in making that college possible.

> Judge Vanderburgh was, so to speak, my neighbor in Minneapolis. We became well acquainted and good friends soon after my arrival in town. One day when we met, he got on the topic of the town's future. He said, "Without doubt Minneapolis in the near

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[17] R. B. Anderson, article in Lutheraneren, 1871, pp. 6 ff.

[18] Helland, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

> future will be a large city, and we ought to do all that we can to help it. My idea is that Minneapolis should be made to be the headquarters for the Scandinavians in the Northwest. There is nothing which helps a city so much as good schools. We ought to get a Scandinavian institution of higher learning to the town."[19]

As a result of this association Paulson suggested later to Judge Vanderburgh that Augsburg be moved to Minneapolis. The promise was made that a building site and financial aid would be offered.[20] On October 31, 1872, the new building was dedicated. The occasion was noted in great detail by the Minneapolis Tribune, and the mayor of Minneapolis, Honorable E. M. Wilson, gave a speech extoling good higher education. The Scandinavians were the first who founded a theological seminary in Minneapolis. "It was," said he, "a fortunate thing, not only for the city but for the whole state."[21]

Weenaas' address at the beginning of the school year 1873-1874 showed how important the rapid acquisition of the English language had become to this group of Norwegian Lutherans.

> It should be our wish, when circumstances make it possible, to do all that is in our

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[19] O. Paulson, Erindringer (Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1907), pp. 225-226.

[20] Ibid., p. 230.

[21] Minneapolis Tribune, November 1, 1872.

> power to meet our countrymen's need of preachers and teachers that not only can speak but also preach the language of the country.... The language of the country more and more will be appropriated by our countrymen and especially by their descendents....For these reasons ministers and teachers must be educated who can use the English language. If this is neglected, the Church will bring upon itself a great deal of blame and run the risk that our beloved Lutheran Church will be absorbed among our countrymen [Americans] and their descendants will be found in the American reformed societies and sects.[22]

Additions to the faculty of the newly-established theological school of the Conference were urgently needed. In answer to a call to Norway came Sven Oftedal, graduate of the University in Christiania, and destined to bring "not only new help but also new impulses" to the seminary.[23]

At the time he left Norway, Oftedal made an agreement with two of his intimate friends, Georg Sverdrup and S. R. Gundersen, "that if circumstances were found favorable to putting into practice certain ideas of church work that they entertained, the other two should follow..."[24] Oftedal took up his duties in October, 1873, and in the following year his two friends arrived in Minneapolis.

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[22] Konferensens Aarsberetning, 1873, p. 53.

[23] Helland, Augsburg Seminar, p. 91.

[24] H. C. Caspersen, "Augsburg Seminary," in Augsburg Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church (Minneapolis: n.p., 1928), p. 37.

These three men immediately took up the work. They were, in the words of Weenaas, "Sverdrup, the mind, Oftedal, the spirit, and Gunnersen the heart" of Augsburg Seminary.[25]

Oftedal had not long been in America before he plunged into the midst of controversy. Some of the Conference men, uncertain of his theological leanings, suspected him of even being in sympathy with the Norwegian Synod. These doubts were soon put to rest by Oftedal's Aapen Erklaering (Open Declaration), a sharp denunciation of the aristocratic and high church position of the Norwegian Synod. The declaration was short (eight pages only), but it was to have an important part in the history of Augsburg Seminary. Regarding the work of the school, several positive ideas concerning its philosophy were outlined. Oftedal stated that the program of Augsburg Seminary was to work for a true Christian democracy in the Church. He maintained that a congregation should have the right to rule itself and make decisions with regard to policy and doctrine on its own affairs, rather than be ruled by a powerful clergy, working through the church body and a church council. He viewed theology as more than mere dogmatics; the purity of doctrine should not be established by means of Lutheran scholasticism but according to the Lutheran Catechism (barnelaerdom).[26]

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[25] Weenaas, Livserindringer, p. 158.

Although at first Weenaas had signed and approved the Open Declaration, he later withdrew his signature from the document. After a few months Weenaas found it difficult to work in harmony with the energetic new professors. Saddened by the death of his wife and child, and eager to return to Norway, Weenaas withdrew from the college in 1876, leaving the destiny of the new school in the hands of the new professors. Undoubtedly Weenaas left America with much bitterness, feeling that Sverdrup and Oftedal had largely taken over control of the seminary and represented new impulses with which he was not always in agreement.[27]

At the time of Aapen Erklaering Sverdrup was not yet in America, but he approved its message. He later wrote,

> ...I...left Norway after Open Declaration had become known there, and thus in a sense went over to the theological Seminary of the Conference as professor on the basis of this document...[28]

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[26] Aapen Erklaering was published in Skandinaven, January 30, 1874. It was reproduced (in Norwegian) in Helland, Augsburg Seminar, pp. 440-442.

[27] A detailed account of Aapen Erklaering and Oftedal's and Weenaas' reactions to it are to be found in Helland, Augsburg Seminar, pp. 96-134.

[28] Georg Sverdrup, Samlede Skrifter i Udvalg IV (Minneapolis: Frikirkens Boghandels Forlag, 1911), pp. 170-171.

Shortly after Sverdrup's arrival, he and Oftedal together presented a new plan of education in conformity with their mutually held principles. It appeared in a pamphlet entitled Program for Augsburg Seminary with College Departments. The plan was adopted by the Board of Directors August 31, 1874, and became the basis for the institution's entire philosophy and curriculum.[29]

Sverdrup and Oftedal did not have unanimous approval for their program even among members of the Conference, the church body which supported Augsburg Seminary (1869-1890). Disagreements and misunderstandings regarding church and school polity appeared early. Weenaas, the first president, and even Gunnersen, one of the triumvirate of friends that also included Sverdrup and Oftedal, returned to Norway, embittered and unhappy with his experience at the college.[30]

An organized opposition to the principles of Sverdrup and Oftedal came under the leadership of Pastor C. L. Clausen.[31] This movement became known as den gamle retning (the old trend). The supporters of Sverdrup and Oftedal were known as den nye retning (the new trend). The difference between the two views centered largely around the emphasis given with respect to a "free" congregation and the necessity of careful definitions of doctrinal statements. Sverdrup's emphasis upon the freedom of congregations became his obsession. With regard to doctrine, he felt that everything necessary to faith and doctrine was adequately stated in Luther's Catechism and Pontoppidan's Explanation.[32] These writings comprised the barnelaerdom. The "old trend" adherents, led by Clausen, were more moderate. Its adherents held that congregations needed some central control and that failure to give attention to doctrine could lead only to fuzziness concerning Biblical truths such as those regarding baptism, regeneration, and the Church.[33]

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[29] See Appendix B.

[30] Weenaas, Livserindringer, pp. 160-161. Andreas Helland, the biographer of Sverdrup, stated that Gunnersen was "of an emotional character" and resented the fact that he had to take over considerable work in the preparatory department. Georg Sverdrup, p. 71.

[31] The former Synod pastor, at this time a leader in the Conference.

Sverdrup and Oftedal, the mind and the spirit of Augsburg College, inspired their people by their strong and capable leadership. It was true, however, that the vehemence with which they defended their beliefs often inspired opposition. With their uncompromising insistence on the "free" congregation they constituted a third theological position in the church, somewhere between the "high church" and "low church" views. Thus, although they had many staunch adherents, the views of the two men also created enmity and distrust. In 1875, in the first issue of Kvartalskrift, a quarterly published by the Seminary faculty, Sverdrup and Oftedal stated their "leading principles."

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[32] Sverdrup, Samlede Skrifter, II, pp. 128-133.

[33] J. A. Bergh, "Den Gamle og Nye Retning," Folkebladet, August 10, 1882. This article presents the "old trend" point of view. Sverdrup's defense of the "new trend" is to be found in his Samlede Skrifter, IV, pp. 253-259, "Lidt om den Nye Retning."

> We believe that we are in full accord with the Lord's will and the task He has given us for our people in these times when we list these leading principles in this publication:
>
> 1. The congregation's complete direction of its own affairs, and therewith turn the sharpest weapons against the power of the ministry and the slavery of congregations, on the one hand, and against congregational divisions and the mischief that can be caused by them, on the other hand.
>
> 2. The liberating power of the person of Christ in the life of a Christian personality, and thereupon turn the weapons against "pure doctrine" and high-church materialism on the one hand, and against pietism and false spirituality, which dissolve the Christian community into detached individuals, on the other hand.[34]

The difficulty of reconciling the various emphases in Norwegian Lutheranism became clearly evident at the first great attempt at church union in 1890.[35] This merger brought together such divergent groups as the Conference, with Augsburg College and Seminary; the remnant of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod with their academy, then at Canton, South Dakota; and the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood, who had broken away from the Norwegian Synod, with St. Olaf's School, later St. Olaf College.[36] This new church body was called the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.

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[34] Kvartalskrift, 1875, pp. 8 ff.

Oftedal and especially Sverdrup were important figures in bringing about union, but their educational philosophy and theological views were also the focal point of discord. When the union was dissolved, in 1893, by the withdrawal of the supporters of Augsburg College and Seminary, the final break came over the question of the institution itself and its educational philosophy. "For the first time in Norwegian-American Lutheran history, the Church was exercised over a question of major importance which was non-doctrinal in nature."[37]

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[35] The merger of the various Norwegian synods into the United Norwegian Lutheran Church and the problems thus involved are discussed with admirable clarity in Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 3-38.

[36] The Hauge's Synod, with its college and seminary at Red Wing, Minnesota, negotiated but did not join the other churches.

[37] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 32.

The "question of major importance," that of control of the seminary, finally necessitated a call for help to American legal authorities. A bitter lawsuit of several years' duration found the supporters of Sverdrup and Oftedal opposed by almost all the other groups within the United Church. In 1893 the new church group formed by the withdrawal of the supporters of Sverdrup, Oftedal and the Seminary came to be known as the Friends of Augsburg. Four years later this group met in Minneapolis and founded the Lutheran Free Church (1897). (See Figure 1). Thus, in a reversal of the usual order, a college founded a church.

The "Greek School" Versus the "Latin School"

In their manifesto on education, Sverdrup and Oftedal planned that the _Program for Augsburg Seminary with College Departments_[38] should be in harmony with the concepts of the free congregation and _barnelærdom_. Their design called for an integrated program, with the college and seminary departments inter-woven and inter-dependent. This particular program was unique at Augsburg. Luther College, the other important Norwegian-American institution of the time, never had a seminary department. The integrated preparatory college and theological seminary formed a fundamental part of the concept of education at Augsburg College for decades.

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[38] See Appendix B.

Conscious of the basic disagreements in educational philosophy between themselves and the fathers of Luther College, the founders of Augsburg College deliberately set out to develop a totally different approach to education from that advocated by the right-wing group at Luther. The name given to the college department at Augsburg was the Greek Department. This was a protest against Synod autocracy as well as a statement of policy. Larsen had clearly outlined his own educational philosophy, based on the Latin School, in _Katalog for det Norske Luther-College_ (1872), and in _Maanedstidende_, the official Synod church organ (1868).[39] The _Program for Augsburg College_ departed as sharply from this as it was possible for two groups having Lutheranism and the same general goal in common to do.

To the leaders at Augsburg the Greek language represented "a channel for freedom of the spirit and creative power of thought" as opposed to Latin, which was "representative of a tyrannical life view and a disintegrating system."[40] The _Program for Augsburg_

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[39] See Appendix A.

[40] _Program for Augsburg Seminary_, p. 7. See Appendix B, p. 472.

Seminary thus rejected the Norwegian-type Latin schools as a pattern upon which it might build its own school. The design of Oftedal and Sverdrup contrasted sharply with that outlined by Larsen, who frankly admitted that Luther College "remains a Latin School roughly corresponding to those our ministers had to go through before they came as students to the University."[41]

Educational leaders of both Luther and Augsburg employed the Lutheran rationale of giving the Greek language a prominent place because its study would enable the students to read original sources, in particular the New Testament. The Augsburg point of view, however, was unique in concentrating more on Greek than on Latin. In addition, went the argument, "we believe that we have in the Greek grammar and in the Greek syntax a richer linguistic substance than in the Latin."[42]

The Greek School meant the true expression of the democratic spirit to Augsburg's founders. The plan, they stated, was true to Luther's principles, for it was designed to enable students to read the New Testament in the original without the errors introduced by commentaries and secondary sources. It was Lutheran, too, since it rejected scholasticism and over-attention to pagan writing. Thus the program at Augsburg was unique in these respects, and its innovators expected a sharp reaction.

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[41] Catalog for the Norwegian Luther-College, p. 17. See Appendix A, p. 437.

[42] Program, p. 5. See Appendix B, p. 472.

> ...we do not conceal from ourselves that it contains so great a departure from the traditional, that we could expect on the one hand a lukewarm reception, and on the other hand, misunderstanding of certain parts of the plan, and in any event, a sharp and thoroughgoing criticism. In order to direct the criticism in the right track, to guard against misunderstanding as much as possible, to procure an easier hearing and, lastly, so that the battle, if it must come, can be waged upon principles and not upon trifles, we shall try briefly and clearly to outline our point of view.[43]

It has been stated that Sverdrup and Oftedal, who arrived in America in the 1870's, were products of a Norway which had changed in many significant ways since the coming of the Norwegian Synod pastors in the 1850's. One of the far-reaching modifications in Norway lay in the realm of education. In 1869 a major reform was effected by a commission headed by one of Norway's famous educators, Hartvig Nissen.[44] It provided for a better coordination of the elementary system with the preparatory school and initiated the "middelskole," or intermediate school, for children aged nine to fifteen, putting much less emphasis on Latin and Greek for these youngsters. In addition, three years were to be spent either in the "Latingymnasium" or in the "Realgymnasium," the practical course. The two types of "gymnasium" were equally valid, and graduates of either were qualified for entrance to the University.[45]

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[43] Program, p. 5. See Appendix B, pp. 467-468.

[44] Several of the Norwegian-American educators who figure in this dissertation were associates of Nissen at his famous school in Norway. See Chapter III, p. 89.

The "real" line of preparatory studies laid special stress on such "practical" subjects as mathematics, natural science, modern languages, or more "scientific" courses. This discipline in Norway provided a more adequate answer to the demands the industrial revolution made upon modern living.[46]

The authors of Augsburg's instructional plan came from Norway with knowledge of this reform and desired to incorporate its pertinent features into their school. They envisioned Augsburg's plan to include a department labeled "realafdeling," or scientific department. Designed particularly as a school for those who were to enter medicine, teaching, and other fields, rather than the ministry, the scientific department complemented the Greek school. The two departments together had the ambitious purpose of entering into the American scene quickly and making a contribution to American culture.[47]

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[45] Hovde, The Scandinavian Countries, I, 610-611.

[46] Helland, Georg Sverdrup, pp. 50-51.

[47] Program, p. 5. See Appendix B, p. 469.

English and Norwegian were given equal status in language study under the new educational plan, just as Norwegians were to have co-equal status with American citizens, adding to the common weal as well as taking from it.[48]

Sverdrup and Oftedal planned that the science department at Augsburg would make the greater contribution to the general American scene, since the Greek department would primarily prepare pastors to serve the Norwegian immigrant community. The "classical" language suggested for the science department was, interestingly enough, Old Norse, rather than either Greek or Latin. By means of Old Norse, the Norwegian immigrants could promote "the grafting of the Norwegian element into the American development."[49] The "realafdeling," then, was to be both a scientific division and a folk high school.[50] It would prepare men in a practical way and give them the assurance that they had a real contribution to make to the new society to evolve from the merging of the Norwegian immigrants and the established American society.

Unfortunately for Augsburg and doubtless for the

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[48] Program, p. 5. See Appendix B, p. 469.

[49] Program, p. 15. See Appendix B, p. 479.

[50] Program, p. 14. See Appendix B, p. 476.

American culture, the science department at Augsburg never materialized. Almost immediately, Augsburg became so embroiled in religious controversy and afterward so weakened by dissention that it was able to concentrate only on the Greek department as a means of preparing pastors for the church. It was interesting to speculate what might have happened had a united Norwegian-American intelligentsia concentrated on a curriculum based upon the objectives of Augsburg's "realafdeling." Certainly the influence and importance of the Norse contribution would have been stressed in the study of English language, literature and history.

In the eyes of Augsburg's founders, the science department as well as the Greek department had three great objectives in education: "1) a view of world history, 2) logical discernment, and 3) facility in language--everything resting upon Christianity's living foundation of truth."[51] Larsen stated somewhat different aims of instruction:

> ...in the first place, the memory, the ability to think, and all the intellectual powers shall be strengthened and developed, and next, that which is learned shall be retained, so that later it can be put to use; and in order to attain this it is obviously necessary to study thoroughly.[52]

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[51] Program, p. 14. See Appendix B, p. 476.

[52] Catalog, p. 19. See Appendix A, p. 440.

Most important for Larsen, too, was the aim that "they shall acquire a basic and thorough knowledge of Christianity.[53] In their statement of aims the leaders at the two colleges showed their divergent views. Augsburg's aims stressed a broader, perhaps more "liberal" education; while Luther's objectives tended to produce a man educated along narrow, thorough, and deep acquaintance with learning.

Blueprints for Curricula Compared

Luther College and Augsburg College, divergent as they were in outlook, had much in common upon which to build a curriculum. The major concern of each was the preparation of ministers. Both, however, tried to plan for the education of those not destined to enter the ministry. Both were inheritors of the theology and educational philosophy of Martin Luther. This meant that they advocated making the Christian message the central theme throughout. Languages were given a very prominent place. Particularly this was true of the classical languages, Greek and Latin. History received major attention, but almost no time was alloted philosophy and science.

Differences were apparent, however, as each school sought to interpret its own mission and follow the guidance of Martin Luther. The preparatory school at Luther College (called at first the Latin School and later the college) was undoubtedly the more rigid; it covered a period of six years compared to five years at the Augsburg Greek school. The number of class hours per week averaged twenty-seven hours, compared to Augsburg's twenty-five. (See Table I, p. 222)

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[53] Catalog, p. 19. See Appendix A, p. 440.

Luther College had far longer preparation time for those who were to enter the ministry than for teachers--six years in the Latin School, compared to three for the normal department.[54] The normal department, however, never became an important part of Luther College. Although it was operated in connection with the college from 1865 to 1886, it never received equal emphasis with the Latin course. In 1889 the Synod opened a Lutheran Normal School at Sioux Falls, South Dakota.[55]

Augsburg College, at least in design, had as long a period of time allotted for the preparation of those who were to enter other vocations as for those who planned to enter the ministry--five years for each. Since the science department never came into being, however, it could be concluded that Augsburg never really desired to

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[54] When the normal school began, students required only two years to become teachers. The course was lengthened to three years, however, four years later (1869), so that teachers could be prepared for public schools as well as parochial ones. K. Larsen, op. cit., pp. 209-210.

[55] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., I, 298-299.

TABLE I

TOTAL HOURS OF INSTRUCTION LUTHER COLLEGE LATIN SCHOOL AND AUGSBURG COLLEGE GREEK SCHOOL*

Subject	Luther College Latin School	Augsburg College Greek School
Catechism and Bible History	18	15
Latin	30	14
Greek	16	19
Hebrew	4	
German	11	6
English	17	20
Norwegian	12	19
Logic	2	
History	10	18
Geography	4	6
Science	3	
Mathematics	11	3
Chorus	12	
Penmanship	3	

*Luther College had a six-year school; Augsburg had a five-year program. The term continued for 40 weeks at Luther; at Augsburg the term was 36 weeks. The total hours (above) were compiled on the basis of hours per week of class instruction.

train teachers as much as to train pastors, either.

The importance of each study to each school was indicated by the amount of time devoted to its pursuit. Obviously Luther College gave high priority to Latin--a total of thirty academic hours, compared to Augsburg's fourteen.[56] Conversely, Augsburg used a proportionately high percentage of its time to study Greek--a total of nineteen hours, compared to Luther's sixteen. It should be remembered that Luther College's program required six years to complete, compared to the five years required at Augsburg, and that the number of hours studied per week was larger at Luther than at Augsburg. The place given to English and history at Augsburg may be judged by the fact that at Augsburg, the study of English occupied twenty hours, compared to only seventeen at Luther. Augsburg students had a total of eighteen hours of history, compared to ten hours of history at Luther.

Norwegian, in Augsburg's plan, was given equal standing with English. Luther put far less stress on Norwegian, especially for the upper classes. Augsburg had nineteen hours of Norwegian, compared to twelve hours at Luther. On the other hand, it was not surprising

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[56] In connection with this and the following comparisons, it will be useful to refer to Table II, p. 222 for a quick numerical comparison.

TABLE II

TOTAL HOURS OF INSTRUCTION LUTHER COLLEGE NORMAL SCHOOL AND AUGSBURG COLLEGE SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT*

Subject	Luther College Normal School	Augsburg College Scientific Dept.
Catechism and Bible History	12	13
Bible Explanation and Catechetics	8	
Symbolical Books	4	
German	5	
English	21	24
Norwegian	8	24
History	4	18
Geography	4	9
Science	3	4
Mathematics and Logic	6	20
Chorus	6	
Penmanship	3	
Bookkeeping		2
Old Norse		9
American Constitution		2

*Luther College had a three-year normal school; Augsburg College had a five-year course, the first year taken in common with the Greek Department. The total hours (above) were compiled on the basis of hours per week of class instruction.

that Luther gave a more prominent place to the study of German--eleven hours, compared to six hours at Augsburg. Luther College for many years sent its graduates to the Missouri Synod's Concordia Seminary, where German was essential. It was the daily language of the campus in St. Louis, as Norwegian was at Luther and Augsburg. German was, of course, needed for theological studies, as both programs pointed out.

Only Luther College made mention of music as a part of the curriculum. All students spent two hours per week each year studying music.

The differences in curriculum were even more pronounced as projected in the practical divisions of the two schools, the normal school at Luther and the science department at Augsburg. As was mentioned, neither actually played a very essential role in the development of the colleges. Augsburg's scientific division was never realized, and Luther's normal school was always relatively insignificant in the total picture and was finally moved to another city. As planned, however, the two departments were a study in contrasts. Augsburg's department was designed to make the real contribution to America, since, admittedly, graduates of the Greek department were trained to serve the parishes of the Synods of the Norwegian Lutheran church. Luther's normal department, on the other hand, was designed, in large part at least, to prepare teachers for Lutheran parochial schools.

It should be remembered, in making comparisons, that Augsburg's scientific division was to cover a period of five years, while Luther's normal school embraced only three years. The emphasis at Augsburg lay on the contribution which Norsemen could make to the general culture of America. The core of the program there became Old Norse (nine hours, compared to none at Luther). (See Table II, p. 224) Students at Augsburg were required to have twenty-four hours of Norwegian, as compared to only eight hours of Norwegian for Luther students. Science department students took eighteen hours of history, compared to the four hours normal school students at Luther took. In mathematics, which at Augsburg included logic, students took twenty hours; while at Luther students took only six hours. In addition to the required religion courses, the number of which was about equal at the two schools, Augsburg students took bookkeeping and a two-hour course on the American Constitution. As a special extra, surveying had been considered also as a course at Augsburg. In a sense, here were the projected beginnings of a vocational approach. These courses showed an awareness of the needs and circumstances in the Midwest of that day that never entered into the planning at Luther college.

The lists of textbooks given by Sverdrup and Oftedal and by Larsen in their educational documents indicated the basic framework within which the instruction was carried on. At Luther College almost all the texts given were either in Norwegian or in German, the language in which the professors felt the most at home. There was, in addition, translation from Greek to Latin, and the text book which enabled the students to do this was written in German. Very few English texts found their way into the curriculum, except in the normal school. It was conceivable that Larsen's experience in St. Louis provided him with the textbooks available in America which he considered best. His trip to visit American colleges contributed but little to his curriculum, although he discussed textbooks with many of the educators he met.[57]

Sverdrup and Oftedal, conscious of the future contacts with American culture which graduates of Augsburg would make, utilized proportionately many more texts in English throughout the curriculum. Very few German texts were used outside of the German language courses and the theological curriculum. It was only natural that Augsburg's founders, mistrusting Latin and Roman influence as tyrannical, did not provide for any translation from Greek to Latin. Furthermore, a note added to the Program demonstrated the desire of the founders to Americanize the curriculum as much as possible.

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[57] L. Larsen, "A Newcomer Looks at American Colleges," See Chapter VI, pp. 174-179.

> ...as soon as the administration finds suitable textbooks in the English language, these will be adopted throughout all of the Greek and science divisions.[58]

A comparison of the schedules, course hours and textbooks set forth by the educators at Augsburg and Luther colleges served to indicate the spirit underlying the two schools. The educational climate at Luther College reflected the rigid, "high-church" paternalism of its founders. The entire program was conceived primarily to educate an elite clergy, in much the same way that the Latin Schools of Norway had done. Augsburg College envisioned a more moderate program, giving greater emphasis to history and the more practical subjects. In contrast to the intention of the Luther College group, the leaders at Augsburg planned from the start to educate a wider segment of the Norwegian-American population in order to make a distinctive contribution to the American melting-pot.

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[58] Program, p. 16. See Appendix B, p. 481.

Determining Philosophies of Other Norwegian Lutheran Colleges

St. Olaf College. A third Norwegian Lutheran college, St. Olaf College, founded in 1874, began for a different purpose than either Luther or Augsburg College. To many Norwegians of Lutheran backgrounds, the highly specialized program of the older institutions had little appeal. St. Olaf, designed primarily to educate those who wished to prepare for other fields than the ministry, thus met a different need. Originally the school had as its purpose to give those of Norwegian extraction a better preparation than the inadequate public schools of the day. One special aim was to give the Norse population a practical and useful education so that it might combat the feeling, common in most immigrant groups, of being inferior and outsiders to the "Yankee" element. Thus, teaching for citizenship and public service became early aims of the school.[59]

The founder and moving spirit of St. Olaf's School, as it was then called, was Pastor Bernt Muus, early Norwegian Synod pastor, avowed critic of the American common school,[60] and later a member of the Anti-Missourian

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[59] C. A. Mellby, St. Olaf College Through Fifty Years (n.p. [1925]), p. 18.

[60] See Chapter V, pp. 145-147.

Brotherhood. The educational ideals of Muus were clearly indicated at the annual meeting of the Norwegian Synod June 13-21, 1874, when St. Olaf's School was proposed. Muus here presented a number of theses concerning the new school.

> 1. It is the purpose of the school to assist the parents in the education of their children.
>
> 2. As it is the purpose of education to care for the children's temporal and eternal welfare, so it is also the purpose of the school to assist the parents in caring for the temporal and eternal welfare of their children.
>
> 3. Since the most important duty of the parents is to care for the eternal welfare of their children, that school which takes an essential part in the education of their children must also look upon the eternal welfare of the children as its highest and most important aim.
>
> 4. Since nothing else than the revealed word of God can bring us salvation, it must be one of the chief objects of that school which takes an essential part in the education of our children, to instruct concerning this word, and to help the children to live in accordance with it.
>
> 5. Since the present common school makes it an object to take an essential part in the education of children, but will not teach them concerning the revealed word of God, it cannot properly perform its office, as it (a) neglects to employ the only means by which its most important aim can be reached; (b) substitutes other inadequate means, and thereby draws the children away from the only way of salvation.
>
> 6. Since great necessity may justify one in exposing himself and others to great temptations, it cannot be asserted that it is under all circumstances a sin to make use of the

> common school; but it is the duty of Christians in proportion to their ability to work for the erection of Christian schools for their children.[61]

The school was incorporated as St. Olaf's School[62] on November 6, 1874.[63] Careful attention was given to preservation of Lutheran faith; the general purpose, however, was merely stated as the "advancement in education of pupils from fifteen years of age and upwards."[64]

Although the aim was stated in general terms, the nature of St. Olaf was from the start different from that of the two older institutions, Luther and Augsburg.

> St. Olaf's School was to be an American institution. Though for a time it might be necessary to use the Norwegian language as a vehicle of instruction in some of the subjects, the aim and purpose was to adjust the student to American life. If he was not to remain foreign in speech, customs, and thought, and to regard himself as an outsider or as an inferior, he must place himself in contact with American institutions and thought with all possible haste. Only by an education which would give him the full and free powers of expression would he be able to contribute to the strength of his adopted country.[65]

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[61] O. G. Felland, "History of St. Olaf College," in *Quarter Centennial 1874-1899 Souvenir of St. Olaf College* (Northfield, Minn.: Northfield News Printery, 1900), n.p.

[62] The name remained St. Olaf's School until the college department was added in 1886 and the Articles of Incorporation amended in 1889 to read "St. Olaf College." William C. Benson, *High on Manitou* (Northfield, Minn.: St. Olaf College Press, 1949), p. 22.

[63] See Appendix E, "Articles of Incorporation of St. Olaf's School."

[64] *Ibid*.

[65] Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

The unique mission of the school was perfectly clear to its founders. In addition, they introduced a number of innovations from the start. For the first time a Norwegian school began as a coeducational institution. The classics were not to be the only emphasis. With the exception of religion courses, subjects were optional. More attention to the preparation of students in fields other than teaching and the ministry indicated an attention to the "liberal arts" rather than vocational preparation.[66]

St. Olaf did not have the backing of a church synod from its beginning, as did Luther College and Augsburg College. At its founding it did, however, have the blessing if not the real support of the Norwegian Synod. Muus, the founder, of that college, was at the time an active Synodist. St. Olaf, nevertheless, from the first was a private undertaking supported by a few individuals under the leadership of Muus.

In 1886 an event occurred which had far-reaching effects upon St. Olaf College. The Norwegian Synod, unable to agree over the theological question of election, split into two warring factions. The opponents of predestination withdrew from the Synod. The belief in predestination was interpreted by these dissenters as a

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[66] Mellby, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

"Missourian" position, so the protest group became known as the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. At this time about one-third of the Synod members, pastors and congregations, left the Synod.[67] Among the Anti-Missourian group was Pastor Muus.

Since the Synod retained all its educational institutions, the Anti-Missourians were left without any school of their own. Supporters of St. Olaf were largely Anti-Missourian in sympathy, and it followed as a natural consequence that this group should come to think of St. Olaf as their school.[68]

Meanwhile, attempts at union of a number of church bodies were attaining their fruition.[69] The Conference, the Haugeans, the Norwegian Augustana Synod, and the Anti-Missourians entered into these negotiations. All except the Haugeans finally merged, in June, 1890, into the United Norwegian Lutheran Church.

A section of the proposed merger agreements concerned the transfer of educational institutions belonging to the uniting church bodies. Article Two of the Articles of Union[70] stated: "The theological seminary shall be Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis." Article Ten stated:

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[67] Helland, Georg Sverdrup, pp. 140-141; Nelson and Fevold, *op. cit.*, I, 269.

[68] Mellby, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[69] See *supra*, p. 212.

[70] Bergh, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-376.

> The preparatory departments at Augsburg Seminary and at Red Wing Seminary[71] and the academy in Canton[72] shall be conducted in the same way as formerly for at least one year after the union is effected.[73]

Nothing was said in the original negotiations regarding St. Olaf's School, since this technically did not belong to the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood or any other of the merging bodies. However, during the negotiations a joint education committee adopted resolutions suggesting that the new church body adopt and support St. Olaf as its preparatory school. Those especially pertaining to St. Olaf and the other college departments, were:

> (6) The committee proposes that the school directors maintain the academy at Canton, South Dakota, and the college department of Augsburg Seminary for the coming year in the same manner as heretofore.
>
> (8) (a) St. Olaf's College at Northfield, Minnesota, shall be the college of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church.
>
> (b) The United Norwegian Lutheran Church at the present meeting shall nominate twenty-five candidates of the former Anti-Missourians, twenty-five of the former Norwegian-Danish Conference, and ten of the former Augustana Synod, and the board of trustees of St. Olaf College shall elect

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[71] This seminary belongs to the Hauge's Synod and hence in the end did not become a part of the 1890 merger.

[72] The Norwegian Augustana Synod school later developed into Augustana College.

[73] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 339.

> of the Anti-Missourian candidates fifteen, of those of the Conference fifteen, and of those of the Augustana Synod five, as members of a new board of trustees at St. Olaf College.
>
> (c) Seven members of the board of trustees shall retire each year, and a new election shall take place. The United Church shall nominate each year fourteen candidates, and the board of trustees shall supplement itself by electing new members from these candidates.
>
> (d) The United Norwegian Lutheran Church pledges itself to support St. Olaf College in such a manner that it may continue to be a college which will meet the requirements that the times demand of an institution of this kind.[74]

Dissention arose over these particular proposals. Augsburg's leaders and Sverdrup in particular now felt that there was collusion between Anti-Missourians and his old enemies, "den gamle retning" (the old trend).[75] Fear was expressed that Sverdrup's opponents intended that St. Olaf would replace Augsburg's college department, since the union agreements had stated merely that the school would continue for one year. Further, Sverdrup was concerned that adopting St. Olaf as the college of the United Church would interfere with his desire for an integrated preparatory school and theological seminary at one location. Sverdrup wrote a series of articles in

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[74] Ibid., II, 28-29.

[75] Sven Oftedal, "Affadavit," in Augsburg Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church, pp. 98-99. Cf. also Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 29-31 and 40-41.

Folkebladet castigating St. Olaf as "humanistic and secular," really unfit to prepare men for the seminary.[76]

> Humanism is a concept of instruction which uses the ancient Greek and Latin classics as the proper means of education. Humanism does not study Greek or Latin or Norwegian or English to put these languages to the use one has for them in the practical life; but Humanism consists of educating one's mind by filling it with the thoughts and points of view of Greek and Latin literature. Humanism in its pure and completely developed state maintains that human qualities are quite different from the Christian, which therefore can be found in its purity where Christianity has had no influence, namely among the heathen who lived, worked and wrote before Christianity came into the world.
>
> ...Humanism's assumption and point of departure is that man is good by nature.[77]

Sverdrup attacked St. Olaf College as the seat of humanism from mixed motives. That he sincerely believed a Norwegian Lutheran school would preach a philosophy founded on the view that "man is good by nature" could be strongly questioned.[78] He resented the United Church's adoption of St. Olaf as its preparatory school and was anxious about the fate of his own institution. In a striking way, however, the program of St. Olaf followed the objectives outlined by Sverdrup for the "realafdeling" of Augsburg which, unfortunately, did not materialize. Just as Sverdrup envisioned that Augsburg's science department would "educate men to be true Christian-minded citizens,"[79] so St. Olaf's plan for general education for enlightened individuals in American culture had the same aim.

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[76] Folkebladet, Dec. 9, 1891, Jan. 6, Feb. 3 and 17, 1892. Reproduced in Sverdrup, Samlede Skrifter, III, 214-225. The title was "Humanismen og Presteuddanelsen" (Humanism and the Education of Ministers).

[77] Ibid., pp. 217-218.

[78] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, note on p. 43.

The question of the admittance of St. Olaf College as "the college of the church union" remained unsolved for some years. When the Augsburg faction refused to give up its educational plan which united preparatory school and seminary, their opponents accepted St. Olaf as their college. Thus in 1890 St. Olaf became the college of the United Church; but in 1893, however, the United Church withdrew its official support, largely because of the violent objections raised by the Augsburg group. The college regained support by the church body after the final break over Augsburg (1899).[80]

St. Olaf's first president, Th. N. Mohn, was "an ardent American in thought and purpose from the beginning."[81] An ardent supporter of the rapid Americanization of Norwegian immigrants, his leadership during the twenty-five years of his presidency continually aimed at making St. Olaf an American institution. Doubtless his efforts toward this end led St. Olaf to relinquish conservative Norwegian ways quickly. Perhaps, too, because of St. Olaf's attention to the education of lay men and women, rather than any concentration on preparation for the ministry and teaching, its progress was rapid. It has since become the largest of the Norwegian Lutheran institutions.

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[79] Program for Augsburg Seminary..., p. 14. See Appendix B, p. 476.

[80] Mellby, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[81] Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Augustana College. In addition to the three colleges already discussed, the Norwegian Lutherans established three other institutions which existed first as academies and only became four-year colleges in the twentieth century.[82] These academies had the Christian training of Lutheran youth as their central purpose. The curriculum was largely practical and provided a rough equivalent to that of the high schools of their day with the addition of a large number of classes in religion. A typical statement of the purposes of the academies read,

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[82] The story of the Norwegian Lutheran academies constituted another extensive chapter in Norwegian Lutheran attempts at providing Christian education for their young people. In all, seventy-five such academies were established between 1851 and 1927 in the United States and Canada. Gradually, however, the church was forced to relinquish its academies, finding it impossible to compete with the public high schools. Today only four academies exist as academies in the Norwegian church. Two of these are in the United States and two are in Canada. Three others continued their existence, in the United States, as four-year colleges. Several others are now junior colleges but have dropped their academy departments. Compiled from figures presented in B. H. Narveson, "The Norwegian Lutheran Academies," Studies and Records, XIV (1944), 184-226; and Lutheran Herald, 44 (April 19, 1960), "The Colleges and Schools of The American Lutheran Church."

> Camrose Lutheran College [academy] is enlisted in the cause of Christian education. Its founders were actuated by the conviction that only educational training which is secured under the refining and regenerating influence of the Christian religion can be complete or adequate for the purposes of life. The general aim of our college, therefore, is to give young men and women a higher education based on the Christian faith as taught in our Lutheran Church and to foster, encourage, and guard the Christian life of our students. The college will endeavor to give its students an adequate training in the various academic courses outlined and at the same time seek to transmit to them in as large measure as possible the religious and cultural treasures of our forefathers.[83]

As the present study examined only four-year colleges in the United States, the three following colleges only have found a place here.

Augustana College, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, had some claim to antedating even Luther College (1861). It traced its origin to the Scandinavian Augustana Synod which founded Augustana College at Paxton, Illinois, in 1860 (now Augustana College of Rock Island, Illinois).[84]

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[83] Narveson, op. cit., p. 206. The academy's name indicates the looseness with which Norwegian Lutherans used the word "college." There is no parallel word in Norwegian. St. Olaf, founded as an academy, was first called "college," then "school," and finally "college."

[84] Cf. supra, p.199.

On the strength of this association, Augustana College in Sioux Falls celebrated its centennial in 1960.[85] It should be noted that Augsburg College was an outgrowth of the same Paxton, Illinois, school. Augsburg has dated its founding since 1869, however.

Augustana College, Sioux Falls, became a full-fledged liberal arts college of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1918, after a migratory history from Paxton, Illinois, to Marshall, Wisconsin, to Beloit, Iowa, to Canton, South Dakota. Merger with the Lutheran Normal School already established in Sioux Falls[86] resulted in its elevation to a college.

The Lutheran Normal School, founded by Luther College graduates, thus brought the Norwegian Synod influence to bear upon Augustana College as well. Since Augustana emerged as a college in 1918, it brought little that was unique as a contribution to the philosophy of education of Norwegian Lutherans. The pattern was by this time already set, and the American impact had left its mark.

Concordia College. Concordia College, in Moorhead, Minnesota, was founded as an academy in 1891, a comparatively early date for an educational institution in this section of the country.[87] The academy became a full-fledged liberal arts college in 1917. This date was, again, rather late for Concordia College to play a significant part in developing the pattern of Norwegian Lutheran education. Merger with Park Region Luther College, previously located in Fergus Falls, Minnesota, took place in 1917. Park Region College also was founded by Luther College graduates, giving that college some claim to a connection with Concordia College as well.[88]

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[85] See Appendix F, p. 492.

[86] Belgum, op. cit., p. 281.

Pacific Lutheran University. Pacific Lutheran University was opened in 1894 in Parkland, Washington, after four years of preliminary spadework. Although from the beginning the institution bore the name "university," the curriculum at the time was limited to that of an academy and business college. Its founder and first president was Bjug Harstad, a Luther College graduate.[89]

The purpose of Pacific Lutheran University was to

> ...impart education on a Christian foundation; the school shall be directed in a Christian spirit and be evangelically Lutheran in profession and deed....But it shall also provide instruction in all practical subjects about which our young people need

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[87] See history, Appendix F, p. 493.

[88] Belgum, op. cit., p. 281.

[89] Loc. cit.

> information, each in his own line....And if we are successful, this institution will be of great value for the Scandinavian people on the coast, and will raise them up to the status that ...they are entitled to.[90]

Throughout the years Pacific Lutheran has played diverse roles. It offered a two-year college preparatory program in 1921; in 1931 an additional year was added and a teacher-training program was established; a four-year teacher education program was established in 1939, together with the establishment of a college and the granting of a Bachelor of Elementary Education; a liberal arts college was added in 1941. Increasing diversity of the curriculum led in 1960 to the college's reassuming the name of university. In recent years it has absorbed two other Lutheran schools, Columbia Lutheran College of Everett, Washington, and Spokane College, Spokane, Washington.[91]

Although not alone with the plan of becoming a university--Luther College also originally had that name--it has become the only Norwegian Lutheran institution to have attained that title at present. In its university organization it includes six schools. It has also been unique in that it has received support from the Augustana Synod (of Swedish background), as well as from the American Lutheran and Evangelical Lutheran churches.

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[90] Lutheran University Herald (Parkland, Washington), 1 (1891), cited by Kenneth O. Bjork, West of the Great Divide (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1958), p. 535.

[91] See history, Appendix F, p. 496.

Summary

Augsburg Seminary, with its college department, represented a new approach to education within Norwegian-American Lutheran circles. Two dynamic young leaders, Georg Sverdrup and Sven Oftedal, arrived in America in the early 1870's and immediately set out to carry into action educational plans which in many ways opposed the "Latin School" design of Luther College.

Sverdrup and Oftedal became staunch advocates of menighedsmaessig presteuddannelse (an integrated school for the education of ministers including preparatory and seminary departments at one institution). With this concept ever uppermost, Sverdrup and Oftedal developed a "Greek School" which represented for them freedom as opposed to tyranny and a practical use for the study of languages, rather than the development of a Lutheran classicism they associated with the "Latin School." A plan for a scientific or practical department of the college never materialized, since all the energies of the Augsburg men were expended on the training of ministers.

Attempts at uniting Lutheran church groups encountered difficulties, especially because of the problem of educational institutions attached to the various synods. A new Lutheran institution, St. Olaf College, emerged as the exponent of general education for responsible citizenship. For the first time among Norwegian-Americans, the education of pastors was not given preeminence. Other colleges, Augustana, Concordia, Pacific Lutheran University, arrived late upon the American scene. United in espousing Christian education as their real reason for existence, they made, however, no new contributions or different approaches in Lutheran educational philosophy.

CHAPTER VIII

TRENDS IN NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Preceding chapters have served to outline the founding ideals and growth of the Norwegian Lutheran liberal arts colleges in the United States. As their founders realized, these church schools would eventually become American institutions. Unwilling to give up any of the founding principles, the administrators of the colleges were, nevertheless, forced to yield to the American environment in several significant ways. American social customs and intellectual currents gave impulses to which the Norwegian Lutheran colleges were forced to react. Curriculum changes were to produce widespread innovations for these bulwarks of Lutheran conservatism.

Meanwhile, forces of two other types were at work. Some led toward greater integration, both with other non-Lutheran institutions of higher learning and within the evolving pattern of American Lutheranism. The church as well as the colleges was to become interested in greater integration.

Other, perhaps less tangible, influences were striving to hold the Norwegian Lutheran colleges to the status quo, or to have them work as Lutheran colleges together over against other American colleges and universities. The two types of forces held a taut and often difficult guideline for the Norwegian Lutheran colleges to follow. It is of these changes in curriculum and in social and intellectual thought, and of forces pulling toward integration on the one hand, separatism on the other, that this chapter deals.

The American Environment and the Changing Curriculum

With the passage of time Americanization became inevitable in institutions of higher education among Norwegian Lutherans, despite the delaying actions of language, Norse nationalism, and conservative theology. Leading educators among the Norwegians recognized the necessity of entry upon the American scene, but transition proved difficult and painful, especially for those who remained confident of the contribution which could be made to the American scene by their own heritage. This pride and faith in things Norwegian was reinforced at times by achievements such as that of O. E. Rolvaag, author of Giants in the Earth,[1] or political leaders like Knute Nelson, Floyd B. Olsen and J.A.O. Preus, and the celebration of the Norse-American Centennial in 1925.[2] Despite minor successes and attempts to hold the line, however, progress toward assimilation developed at an ever-increasing pace.

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[1] Rolvaag was a professor at St. Olaf College when he wrote his book. It was first published in Norwegian.

The event which made participation in things American mandatory, even to the staunchest supporters of fædrearven (the heritage of the fathers), was the First World War. No longer could immigrant groups remain islands of foreign influence in an American sea. Students at Norwegian colleges became eager to show their patriotic zeal by learning about America, copying American ways, and being Americans themselves. The schools also were increasingly forced to compare themselves with other and more American institutions. The net result of these associations became the development of colleges indistinguishable, in large measure, from other institutions.

The triumph of English. Acceptance of English as the first and most important language came slowly to

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[2] Norlie, History..., pp. 433-435 et passim. A more objective appraisal of the event was given by Einar Haugen when he described the Centennial as "the last rally." The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), I, 258.

Norwegian Lutherans.[3] The Norwegian Synod's attempts to establish a complete system of church schools and the opposition of this group to the common schools revealed a fear that the mother tongue would be lost. "The Lutheran faith must be uncontaminated by 'the sects'."[4]

When Augsburg College and St. Olaf College were founded, they immediately recognized the significance of English by giving an important place to its instruction.[5] Luther College also increasingly gave ground to the advance of English.[6] Even as early as 1884 the Luther students themselves insisted upon giving English its proper place. In the first number of the student newspaper, College Chips (January, 1884), the editor explained the reason for its appearance in English.

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[3] "From its earliest days in America the Lutheran church, perhaps more than any other immigrant church, experienced the bitterness and travail of making the transition from European tongues to English." Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 242.

[4] "Missouri-Synodens Mening om 'vore Skole- og Sprogforhold,'" K. Maanedstidende, V (February, 1860), 50-51.

[5] See supra, Chapter VII, pp.223, 237-238, and Table I, p. 222.

[6] The reports of the Board of Education of the church which emerged as a result of the merger of 1917 were revealing as a study of the encroachment of English upon Norwegian. The entire report appeared almost exclusively in Norwegian 1917-1921. In 1922 and 1923 the report came out in both English and Norwegian. The President's Report from Luther College did not appear in English until 1921, whereas the reports from the other colleges were written in English from 1918 on. For some years the reports of all the educational institutions appeared under the general term læreanstalt (institutions of learning), even though the reports themselves were in English. The theological seminary retained Norwegian the longest; reports were written in Norwegian as late as 1930. Annual Reports of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1917-1930.

> It may perhaps occasion some surprise that we write our "Chips" in the English language, this being a Norwegian institution. We had at first thought to use both languages, but this had to be abandoned, owing to the small size of the paper. Having our choice between the two, we have preferred the English, not at all because we despise the Norwegian but because English is the language we use the most and we are now fully as much at home in that as in the Norwegian. English is now unquestionably the reigning language of Luther College. It is true, Norwegian is yet used about equally as much in class as before; but English is the language generally spoken outside of the class and English is almost exclusively the language of all our literary societies. There has been a considerable change in this respect these last years. English has in the later times constantly been gaining ascendency and is now predominant. We consider this a change to the better. It goes to prove, we think, that Luther College is advancing. We are citizens of America and the more Americanized we can become, the better.[7]

As the colleges became more American, Norwegian gradually received less and less attention. Required study of the Norwegian language for all students was dropped in 1919 at Augsburg College and in 1931 at Luther College.[8] There was an attempt to preserve the cultural heritage at the colleges even after the language requirement was dropped. At Luther and St. Olaf all students of Norwegian ancestry were required to take a course in Norwegian culture. An outgrowth of a desire to pass on the faedrearven, the course requirement has persisted until recent years.[9]

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[7] College Chips (Decorah, Iowa), I (January 1, 1884), 3.

[8] Helland, Augsburg Seminary, p. 354. Luther College Bulletin, XI (November 1931) 2.

Although the requirement of Norwegian language was dropped, the colleges have all maintained courses in Norwegian language and literature. They are among very few institutions outside of the large universities which offer Norwegian. Its status is now, however, that of any foreign language, and it is offered as one of the several languages among which students may choose in order to fulfill general education requirements.

The adoption of coeducation. Concurrently with the emergence of English as the medium of instruction in the colleges came the acceptance of many American customs. Coeducation was among these. Established as the norm among a large number of American institutions of the Midwest, coeducation in time knocked at the doors of even the most formidable of men's institutions. At St. Olaf, which had been established as a Christian academy for both sexes, the question of coeducation was already settled when the college department was formalized in 1889. The fact that St. Olaf adopted coeducation from its beginning also indicated that this school was from its inception influenced by American principles. Lutheran circles generally regarded the higher education of women as not of the utmost importance.[10] Luther College reluctantly became a college for women as well as for men in 1937, and even then it was as a means to survival.[11] Augsburg College, too, adopted coeducation only in 1921, after fifty-two years as a men's college.

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[9] As recently as 1950 at St. Olaf the "Norse culture course" was required of students of Norwegian background. Dr. John Holum, professor at Augsburg College, was the first successful petitioner to be excused from this requirement.

The transition from a men's college to coeducation did not come easily at Lutheran schools. It meant, for student body and faculty alike, the adoption of new attitudes and approaches--almost a new way of life. A College bound together by a single-minded purpose, the training of men for the ministry, quite naturally felt some resentment at the intrusion of the opposite sex. At Luther College, for example, the invasion of girls into the sanctity of male exclusiveness often exploded into acts of rudeness.[12] In time, however, coeducation came to be accepted as the normal state of affairs. It should be noted, however, that Augsburg and Luther, the only two colleges that started as schools for men only, today are the smallest of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges.[13] Perhaps one of the reasons may lie in the fact that, until recently, present day students at Luther and Augsburg had only the experience of their fathers as incentive for their own attendance at these schools.

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[10] See the conservative reactions of church members when President Larsen sent his daughters to high school and later to a state university, K. Larsen, op. cit., pp. 330-331.

[11] Interview with the late Dr. Oscar L. Olson, former president of Luther College, November, 1955. "If Luther College had not had education for girls during the war [World War II] it would not have survived."

[12] Many a Luther graduate remembers the advent of

The inroads of Puritanism. Not only did the structure of an American college emerge more quickly among the Norwegian Lutheran colleges with the adoption of the English language and coeducation, but also the mores and prejudices strange to the Norwegian heritage became known and often were adopted. American Puritanism was an acquired attitude not prevalent in the parts of Norway from which the Synod men came.

Thus strict temperance, in the present day demanded of all students at Lutheran colleges,[14] apparently was not

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[12] (Cont.) women. "We would push them off the sidewalks." "We used to come to classes in our pajamas, and after the women came we had to dress even for breakfast." "You should have seen the time we gave the fellows if they would take a girl to a basketball game." These were typical statements about the first days of coeducation at Luther College gleaned from interviews with Luther graduates of 1937-1941.

[13] See post, Table IX, p. 363.

[14] See college catalogs.

adhered to in the early history of Luther College. Wine and beer were commonly used with meals. A negative attitude toward the use of alcoholic beverages undoubtedly came about through exposure to American views. Andrew Veblen pictured the reaction of Synod people in Decorah to the "Yankee" temperance movement in 1878.

> During the winter of 1878-79 there was a temperance revival in Decorah conducted by the church people in town. The meetings were very successful and began to attract many of the Norwegians. The participation of the members of the Norwegian Church was of course not relished by the pastors and other leaders of the church...and temperance meetings were started in the church which were conducted by the pastor, to be in accordance with orthodox evangelical doctrine and practice. It was by some speakers explained that the "reformed" temperance meetings then in progress in town were proceeding along lines that Lutherans could not approve, and in which they should not participate. One specific objection mentioned was regarding the pledge of abstinence which was circulated for signatures in the general meetings in town. One prominent member characterized this pledge and the whole total abstinence movement as unLutheran because they would be unequally yoked with unbelievers (II Cor. 6:14). Dr. Sander did not agree with this view and made his position clear in a short speech. Ordinarily his remarks would have provoked some discussion in defense of the stand taken by the Church leaders and would most likely have caused no stir. But his remarks suited the meeting so well, that a large number--it seemed to be a greater number--forgot themselves and broke out in generous hand clapping. This was of course an awful desecration of a sacred place and the pastor immediately dismissed the meeting with a very curt rebuke. The occurrence was afterwards by some spoken of with bated breath, as a "scandal," though there were some who thought Dr. Sander was right and

> that he at any rate could not be blamed for the impropriety of the applauders. But the incident led to Dr. Sander's being dropped from the teaching staff at the end of the year.[15]

Of all the Norwegian institutions, Augsburg College took the most active interest in the cause of abstinence. Espousal of this cause appeared in many of the college catalogs. Augsburg's supporters had come generally from Norway's west coast where the tradition of pietism had emerged from a series of revival movements.[16] With such a heritage of "living Christianity," this group was especially receptive to American Puritanism.

Restrictions on the use of tobacco and on "ballroom" dancing are now found in the general regulations of nearly all the Norwegian Lutheran colleges.[17] Such ideas were not, however, included in the rules of Luther College in its early years.[18] Synod men apparently changed their manner of living due to the influence of the American Puritanical movement, reinforced in part by the pietism of the leaders from western Norway and the descendants of the Haugean revival movements.

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[15] Andrew Veblen, op. cit., n.p. The Dr. Sander referred to was a graduate of Luther College in 1874 who was the first Luther alumnus to obtain a Ph.D. degree (Yale, 1877). One can speculate that his "liberal" views must have been acquired at the latter institution.

[16] Molland, op. cit., pp. 3-20, 35-39.

[17] Of the six colleges discussed in these chapters, only one does not specifically mention dancing as forbidden or as "not in harmony" with the principles of the colleges. Smoking generally is forbidden for women. See college catalogs.

[18] There is no mention of such restrictions in the section on "Discipline and Order" in the Katalog...1872.

> Concerning all peripheral matters he [Larsen] brought with him to America the liberal views of the circles in which he was brought up. Conditions in the new world made him change, if not his principles, at least his conduct....While he took a firm stand against lay preaching and any tendencies towards what he called "American revivalism," he was perfectly willing to yield in non-essentials and to give up any habits or pleasures by which he might cause offense.... He also found that many usages which he was accustomed to think of as innocent pleasures looked quite different in the cruder society of a new country and were often abused even in his own parish. It therefore became a matter of principle with him to abstain entirely from these things himself and to expect the same from all those over whom he had authority.[19]

__The rise of science__. The study of natural science played scarcely any part in the curricula of the first Norwegian Lutheran colleges, largely because of the single-mindedness with which the church fathers sought to train the clergy. The intensive study of classical languages, religion and church history at Luther and Augsburg left little room or energy for scientific investigation. At St. Olaf, however, science became an important part of the curriculum quite early. The United

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[19] K. Larsen, __op__. __cit__., p. 58.

Church had readopted St. Olaf as its college in 1899 and almost immediately made recommendations as to its program. The church body decided that science should be encouraged, and a Dr. Running was called "to direct and organize the scientific course."[20] Dr. Running began his work in 1890. Science developed rapidly at the college; by 1918 experiments in radio broadcasting resulted in the establishment of WCAL, the first college broadcasting station in Minnesota.[21]

Luther College continued its emphasis upon the classics through the 1920's, although science courses had been introduced much earlier.[22] By 1918 the curriculum had felt so much pressure for change that the plea for the classics had become defensive.

> Luther College stands for the old conservative classical education....If it is to continue with a non-elective still classical course, greater effort must be made by the pastors and the people to secure students, as this course is not as popular as the more modern courses. Such changes only should be made at Luther as are considered absolutely necessary.[23]

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[20] Benson, op. cit., p. 134.

[21] Ibid., p. 243. This radio station maintains a challenging schedule every day. Luther, Pacific Lutheran, and Augustana now also have radio stations.

[22] Chemistry and physics were both introduced in 1892, but chemistry was omitted for some years later on. Luther College Through Sixty Years, pp. 284, 303. An elementary course in biology had been offered as early as 1868. Catalog...1872, p. 28. See Appendix A, p. 461.

[23] "Report of President to Church Body," Annual

Like Luther, Augsburg was slow to develop its science departments. Science credits at Augsburg were the last to be acceptable at the University of Minnesota for accreditation. In 1918 the President reported: "Some fields, notably English, Norwegian and Greek, are accredited at the University of Minnesota. We need additional library and laboratories for accreditation in others."[24]

Norwegian Lutheran institutions were at times called upon to defend the "modern" views that scientific study often produced. Many Lutherans were fearful of the apparent clash between science and religious truths.

> ...evolution is taught in some of the colleges of the Norwegian merger. St. Olaf and President Boe were subjected to a public attack in Lutheraneren for the anti-Biblical teachings that some of the teachers at that leading Norwegian Lutheran institution were bringing their pupils [sic.]. President Boe's answer was not such as to remove suspicion from his school.[25]

Norwegian Lutherans at higher institutions generally did not allow such criticism to dissuade them from including science in the curriculum or pursuing

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[23](Cont.) Report of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1918, p. 96. (In Norwegian)

[24]"Inberetning om Augsburg Seminars Virksomhet i Aaret 1922," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1922, p. 46.

[25]G. O. Lillegard, Modernism, quoted in Spaude, op. cit., p. 161.

knowledge in a truly scientific way. Perhaps the very isolation of Lutheranism from real contact with other churches prevented them from becoming too involved in the argument. The evaluation of the Lutheran role in this particular debate was undoubtedly correct.

> The Lutheran Church has not been greatly disturbed by evolution; it has taken little part in the controversy between fundamentalism and modernism, because all of these questions belong to the world which is passing, and because it is sure that it will be found at last that they do not deprive it of those things which concern it most, the Eternal.[26]

It was natural, however, that in any discussions which did reach the Norwegian Lutheran Church, it placed its support on the side of the Fundamentalists.[27]

The development of the social sciences. The tendency to exclusiveness and the barrier of language tended to isolate Norwegian Lutherans from American social movements. Such American phenomena as the Social Gospel in the first quarter of the twentieth century scarcely penetrated their citadel.[28] Undoubtedly this was particularly true of the conservative wing. This group has traditionally been concerned to preserve the "true doctrine," and any movement which suggested that God and man could work together toward perfection in this world was condemned.

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[26] M. G. Scherer, "What Is Lutheranism?" What Is Lutheranism; A Symposium in Interpretation, ed. by V. Ferm (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 172.

[27] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 285.

[28] Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 14-18 et passim.

Another factor underlay this attitude. As members of Norwegian society, immigrant Norwegians had not been accustomed to thinking of the Church as an agency for social welfare. This had been the role of other branches of the Norwegian state government. Concern for social reform, when it came, was thus a learned reaction. The duty of the Church, most pastors and layfolk alike agreed, was primarily to save the individual souls of sinners.

With greater participation in American life, however, came interest in social welfare. An important segment of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the "low church" wing, was particularly receptive to this movement. As exponents of "living Christianity," as opposed to "pure doctrine," they were more susceptible to the suggestions of social reformers. The two points of view in the church were reflected in the "quietist" and the "activist"; the former reemphasizing the role of the Church to be the sower of the Gospel, the latter group agitating for greater participation of the Church in temporal affairs.

Meanwhile the "social sciences" gained entry into the college curriculum and played their part in Americanizing their Norwegian constituents. The dates of their entry into the college programs furnished a fairly accurate picture of the point of view held by supporters of each college.

At St. Olaf economics was offered in 1903, sociology in 1909, and political science in 1910.[29] These subjects did not come until later at Luther College. Sociology appeared in the curriculum in 1916, then was dropped until 1919. Economics was offered in 1916 and then omitted until 1918. Psychology first appeared in 1907, probably as educational psychology. It was noteworthy that philosophy was introduced in connection with education; it was conceived of as a social science and in no way connected with religion.

The rationale given for inclusion of the social sciences at Luther was typically Lutheran.

> The social sciences, such as sociology, economics, statistics, psychology, education, philosophy, have been given such prominence in recent years and have undergone such a marked development that the pastor who has not received an introduction to them has lost an opportunity to obtain a more intimate contact with the fundamental social and economic problems of his parishioners and to gain a knowledge of the modern methods of

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[29] The father of social sciences at St. Olaf was C. A. Mellby, who, during his career, was subjected to severe attacks for liberal views on sociological and political questions.

> understanding, training, and instructing the minds of his people.[30]

Because of the theological emphasis at Augsburg, also, social science came late. In 1919 a major revision of the curriculum introduced "social problems in connection with education," psychology, educational psychology, economics, ethics and philosophy. These changes came about largely in response to the demands of the church members, who wanted their college to adapt itself more thoroughly to the climate of the post-war world. In addition, the program was expanded to offer courses of interest to women, since coeducation was to be established. The chief program adjustments emphasized a swing to teacher training, in competition with secular institutions.[31]

The graduate training of the faculty. While the energies of Lutheran colleges were almost wholly expended on satisfying the desperate need for pastors, faculty graduate work was largely confined to seminaries, where instruction continued to be in Norwegian or German. Impulses from the wider field of scholarship did not penetrate deeply into these schools, then, in their early years.

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[30] A. M. Rovelstad, "Instruction," in Luther College Through Sixty Years, p. 277.

[31] "Report of the Board of Trustees of Augsburg Seminary," and "President's Report to the Church Body," Beretning om Den Lutherske Frikirke, 1920, p. 43; 1921, p. 33; 1922, pp. 46,48.

Even with the general agreement as to the fundamental purpose of education, voices began to be heard calling for a greater vision.

> A college must as a matter of course have a broader base and a more cosmopolitan character...Yet Luther's "ultimate aim is the preparation of ministers for a thorough theological study."...But the realization of this aim is not accomplished by making the college a preparatory theological department. Luther College must be a college proper, and I for one think that Luther College in its new form, adapted to the needs and demands of the times by its thorough American training, performed by an efficient and always increasing force of teachers, will have even a larger field of work and exert even a deeper and more widespread influence than the former.[32]

Luther College graduates eventually attended universities as predicted and returned to teach there and at other Norwegian Lutheran institutions. The first Luther graduate to obtain his Doctorate in philosophy, at Yale (1877), was Anton B. Sander. His teaching career at Luther College suffered much from this American contact, however, as has been mentioned.[33]

Other Luther College graduates fared better and opened the doors of graduate study to Norwegian Lutherans. One of the first was Gisle Bothne, who attended Johns Hopkins University in 1879-80 and again in 1883-84.

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[32] Hans G. Stub, Festaler...1890, pp. 27-28.

[33] Note, supra, p. 254.

At that institution, opened in 1876, taught an eminent classics scholar, B. L. Gildersleeve. Johns Hopkins University was a pioneer in developing new methods in teaching--seminars, laboratory courses, and so forth. Through this contact Luther College came to hear of G. Stanley Hall, Sidney Lanier, James Bryce, James Russell Lowell and others who taught there.[34] Once a Luther graduate found his way to an Eastern university, others followed, and Johns Hopkins became somewhat of a mecca for Lutherans of Norwegian descent.[35]

St. Olaf College, founded with the explicit purpose of serving those who did not necessarily contemplate entry into the ministry, began its college courses with a faculty who had had contact with American graduate training. Natural science and the various social sciences had not constituted a part of the training for the ministry among Lutheran colleges. Once the decision had been made to include these studies in the curriculum, teachers in these areas necessarily had to be secured for American institutions. Training at the graduate level for the faculty became one of the most significant impulses for making the Norwegian Lutheran college into a typical American liberal arts college.

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[34] "Johns Hopkins University," Encyclopedia Britannica, 1950 edition, XIII, 105.

[35] When Bothne arrived at Johns Hopkins, the authorities there were somewhat reluctant to accept the credentials of a graduate of a small Lutheran college in the Midwest of which they had never heard. "You will have to take an examination in order to be accepted," said they. "All-l-l right," said the rustic-appearing student, in a pronounced Norwegian accent. Bothne took the examination and passed it with such evidence of competence that Johns Hopkins never thereafter questioned the qualifications in classics of a Luther College graduate. From an interview with Dr. N. Astrup Larsen, son of President Laur. Larsen of Luther College, July, 1958.

At Augsburg, for years after the church conflict (1893-1897) almost all concentration was given to the seminary and the pre-theological course in the college.[36] A growing need to train for teaching and other occupations outside the ministry, however, necessitated an increasing association with the University of Minnesota.[37] Such associations and gradually greater emphasis upon the curriculum of a liberal arts college also played their part in Americanizing Augsburg.

In 1928, the Board of Education of the Norwegian Lutheran Church reported on the results of a survey of higher education which the church had made. The recommendations offered as a result of the survey were noteworthy in the way that they indicated the acceptance of much of the educational pattern of America.

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[36] The institution continued to call itself Augsburg Seminary until 1929, when the catalog was revised to read, "Augsburg College and Theological Seminary," the term applied at present.

[37] "Arrangements have been made with the University of Minnesota whereby Augsburg students may take work which is not offered at Augsburg. More attention must be given to practical training." "Report of the President," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1931, p. 36.

> There shall be established at the colleges of the Church training courses for administration officers, social workers and directors of religious education.
>
> The Board of Education shall encourage and assist, in such manner as it deems advisable, graduates of our colleges to do graduate work in this country and abroad, in order that promising and dependable young men and women may be trained for teaching positions in our educational institutions.[38]

The early graduates who continued their studies at Eastern universities and foreign institutions usually did return to their own Lutheran colleges, where their heavy teaching duties prevented them from making major contributions to the wider field of scholarship.

> Very few of these earlier Norwegian scholars, however, made any distinct impression on the learned guilds of the land. Too often they were forced to seek positions in the newer West, where facilities for serious research were uniformly poor....In the whole list there was only one man, Rasmus B. Anderson, who could qualify as a productive scholar. There were splendid names in the list, those of Storm Bull, the engineer, Georg Sverdrup, the intellectual chieftain of Augsburg Seminary, and Laur. Larsen, the venerable president of Luther College, all of whom might have become eminent in scholarship but had found their careers in more practical lines.[39]

Many later graduates of Norwegian Lutheran colleges did, however, make real contributions to the field of scholarship. Their careers testified to the kind of training which they were given at the emerging liberal arts college--an education suited for entry into many fields in addition to the ministry.[40]

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[38] "Report of the Board of Education," Annual Report of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1928, p. 229.

[39] Larson, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

Among the faculty members at the six Norwegian Lutheran colleges in later years have been many who, if they had not chosen to teach in the church colleges which produced them, might have had far wider influence. An alumna of St. Olaf, Leola N. Bergmann, commented on the selection and scholarship of the faculty at St. Olaf College.

> The members of the college staff are carefully selected, primarily for their religious and national backgrounds, only secondarily for professional training and achievement. Non-Lutherans have taught in the physical education, language, home economics, and a few other departments, but they are a small minority. Most of the faculty are themselves graduates of Norwegian Lutheran colleges, many from St. Olaf, having returned after a few years of graduate study. Broader ideas they may have acquired at the universities are soon obliterated by the dominant conservative current. But it is only fair to say that there are a few of scholarly distinction. The administration, grateful for the prestige they give to the institution, is not likely to bother with their orthodoxy as long as they observe the forms and do not give offense.[41]

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[40] Valuable discussions of the contributions of Norwegian-Americans may be found in L. Larson, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-38, "The Norwegian Element in the Field of American Scholarship;" and L. N. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168 *et passim*.

[41] Bergmann, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

Although this statement was hyper-critical, it indicated two facts: that the faculty members were predominantly Lutheran and thus "safe"; and that the great majority returned to institutions like those in which they received their undergraduate training. These factors combined to limit the number of potential scholars who would serve at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. A survey of recent college catalogs indicated that the number of faculty who received their undergraduate training at Lutheran institutions continued to be high in relation to the total faculty. Unquestionably Lutheran background remained an important factor in selection of college teachers. (See Table III) At no institution of Norwegian Lutheran background was the percentage of faculty with Lutheran undergraduate training below fifty per cent. At one institution, Luther College, the percentage of faculty with Lutheran undergraduate training was as high as seventy-six per cent, or three out of every four. At that institution forty-eight and nine-tenths per cent, or one of every two, was an alumnus of the school in which he taught.

Luther College and St. Olaf College had the highest percentage of their own graduates on their faculty rosters. The comparatively low percentage of their own graduates at Augustana, Concordia, and Pacific Lutheran

TABLE III

UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING OF FACULTY IN NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Total number of faculty	96	83	137[a]	92	108	183
Number teaching at own *alma mater*	35	19	45[a]	45	10	85
Number graduates of a Lutheran college	20	27	39[a]	25	44	24
Number graduates of a church-related college	8	5	3	4	9	11
Number graduates of independent or state college or university	33	36	43[a]	19	44	62
Number with no undergraduate degree	0	1	7[a]	0	1	1
Total graduates of Lutheran colleges	55	46	84	70	54	109
Per cent graduates of Lutheran colleges	57.3	56.6	63.5	76.0	50.0	59.6
Per cent teaching at own *alma mater*	36.6	22.9	32.9	48.9	9.6	47.0

This table includes part-time faculty and professors *emeriti*.

[a] Includes faculty of Concordia Conservatory of Music.

Source: College catalogs.

University reflected the late entry of these institutions as four-year colleges.

Effects of the First World War. The Great War (1914-1918) ended isolation for Norwegian-Americans. No longer could the little Midwestern colleges continue to be "little Norways in America"[42] conducting their educational programs in comparative indifference to their environment. Active participation in the Students Army Training Corps at Luther and at St. Olaf introduced these colleges to new studies, new approaches and men with non-Norwegian, non-Lutheran backgrounds. Students and faculty from both schools went off to war; those who returned to attend or teach at their colleges brought with them the new and broader points of view.

Among the activities and studies at Luther College brought on by the association with the army were military training, military English, war geography, surveying, military psychology, radio-telegraphy, military law and practice, war aims, military science, economics, and issues of the war.[43]

At St. Olaf, too, the attempt to coordinate the academic and military training became a disrupting experience. Many student activities ceased to exist or were suspended. "The emphasis upon the science and the stress given to 'war aim' affected the regular course of study."[44]

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[42] Benson, op. cit., p. 209.

[43] L. A. Moe, "Organization," in Luther College Through Sixty Years, p. 272.

Augsburg College had no army unit in connection with the college. In fact, the administration expressed its joy over not having had to yield to the army's dictates.

> A number of Augsburg's boys went [to the adjoining University of Minnesota for military training]. When all is taken into consideration, we do not find anything to complain about concerning this change, as the school could do its customary work without disturbance. When the end of the war came, no change was necessary in the middle of the year in order to return to the regular work.[45]

The colleges recognized the change that the war had brought about among the students. Much concern was expressed about maintaining the old standards. Lars W. Boe, then president of St. Olaf, complained, "The uneasy, irresponsible and irreligious spirit of our times is affecting our young people to a larger degree than we think."[46] The president of Luther, O. J. H. Preus, remarked,

> Another thing which must be reckoned as a result of the war is a kind of unrest which seems to make it difficult to get the usual

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[44] Benson, op. cit., p. 211.

[45] Beretning om den Lutherske Frikirkes 23de Aarsmøde, Minneapolis, 17-24 June, 1919, p. 43.

[46] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Aarsbok, Den Norske Lutherske Kirke, 1921, p. 136.

results in the school work.[47]

The war experience made it clear to even the most ardent exponent of the "Norse heritage" that a new era had appeared.

> Successful as the S. A. T. C. unit was in a general way, its influence nevertheless impaired the old standards of scholarship. Under pressure of the great war academic work could not receive the customary attention in a busy military routine. To this grief new sorrows were added when Governor W. L. Harding on May 23, 1918, issued a proclamation stating among other things that "English should and must be the only medium of instruction in public, private, denominational, and other similar schools." English was the only medium of instruction in Luther College...But the interest in languages other than English was greatly weakened by this Draconian measure. Before the war three Norwegian societies flourished at Luther College. Governor Harding's proclamation destroyed them all, and no effort since has been able to revive them. Also in other respects the war left traces of its vitiating influence. Even long after it was over, a lack of feeling of responsibility and devotion to scholarly ideals prevailed, which only patient and persistent effort has been able to overcome.[48]

The impact of American educational philosophy. Attention to educational methodology, psychology and philosophy came to the Norwegian Lutheran colleges simultaneously with exposure to American educational thought. Texts and practices introduced by American educators such as Kilpatrick, Strayer, Thorndike and Dewey were simply adopted without always examining their philosophical implications.

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[47] "Inberetning av President Preus," Aarsbok, Den Norske Lutherske Kirke, 1919, p. 76.

[48] Knut Gjerset, "Important Events," Luther College Through Sixty Years, pp. 396-397.

Even the professors of education chosen by the colleges usually stood somewhat outside the main stream of the college's orientation. The men generally were not graduates of Lutheran colleges and their experience had been in the public schools only.[49] Thus they were received more guardedly but were allowed to teach their courses without intervention.

The names of courses and texts closely paralleled those of other American-oriented institutions. In 1912 Luther College offered "psychology in its relation to education," introductory psychology, history of philosophy, history of education, child study, educational methods, theory of education, school administration, and "lectures, experiments, and reports." Some of the texts were those by Harris-Bagley, Yerkes, James, Weber, Monroe, Kirkpatrick, Thorndike and Strayer.[50]

In the same year (1912-1913) Augsburg Seminary, with its emphasis still primarily theological, had added only three courses in education to its curriculum. These were history of education, philosophy of education, and school administration.[51] Augsburg used Monroe's History of Education and Quick's Educational Reformers.[52]

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[49] Benson, _op_. _cit_., p. 141.

[50] Rovelstad, _op_. _cit_., p. 286.

There may have been a need for Christian or Lutheran textbooks in such courses, but the heavy teaching loads carried by most of the faculty prohibited their finding the time to write them.[53]

The teachers prepared by the Norwegian Lutheran colleges had, of course, taken the required religion courses and attended the required daily chapel exercises. In other respects, however, and especially in education, their training followed lines parallel in content to those of state schools.

As a general rule, however, the liberal arts course was maintained with little overt influence from American educational philosophy. One reason for this lay in the fact that the philosophy of the educational progressives (Dewey, Kilpatrick and others) rested upon un-Lutheran bases. Their view of man as inseparable from nature and as a perfectible organism was entirely alien.[54]

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[51] Catalog and Announcements of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1911-12 (Minneapolis, n.p.), pp. 35-36.

[52] Augsburg /College and Theological/ Seminary,... Catalog 1918-1919..., p. 41.

[53] One text, An Elementary Christian Psychology, was published in 1924 by O. M. Norlie and used at Luther College.

[54] J. Donald Butler, Four Philosophies...(revised edition; New York: Harper, /1957/), 456-457.

> There is a forthright break with any total-depravity treatment of man. Pragmatists hold that such pessimism is unwarranted by the more accurate and anlytical understanding of man which science has given us. And furthermore, it is felt, its original motivation was to put man in such a bad light that it would be recognized at once that supernatural means could be his only salvation.[55]

The heritage of evolution as expressed in the educational philosophy of the early twentieth century made man simply a part of nature and obviated a prime mover or a soul.[56] This philosophy lacked the Lutheran concern for the eternal verities and so, of course, could not be accepted by Lutherans. Its motives and bases were too pragmatic for conservative Lutherans.

The concern for the "child-centered curriculum" provided another unacceptable doctrine for Lutherans. The new teacher-pupil relationship of the educational progressives found no room in Lutheran teaching, certainly at the level of higher education. Student participation was severely limited by the lecture method; student interest was not as important as the material to be covered. Lutherans found themselves reluctant to relinquish these more authoritarian methods and the relative security of teacher domination.

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 506.

[56] Robert E. Mason, *Educational Ideals in American Society* ([Boston:] Allyn and Bacon, 1960), pp. 72-75 *et passim*.

Lutherans have derived some satisfaction in their reluctance to accept new educational theory hastily. O. P. Kretzmann's analysis was representative of the ideas of many Lutheran educators,

> ...Lutheran education never succumbed to the theory and practice of progressivism. It recognized from the beginning that its basic assumptions were inherently defective and directly opposed to the historic faith of Christianity. Since progressivism was closely allied with liberal Protestantism in its belief in the natural goodness of man and his indefinite perfectibility, and in its opposition to all indoctrination, we would have nothing to do with its philosophy. Paradoxically now, the almost universal disillusion concerning the results of progressivism, so evident in our colleges, as well as in society itself, places us in a particularly fortunate position to rescue from the wreckage certain insights of progressivism, especially in the field of methods and techniques which should not be lost to the educational world. As mere observers of the swinging of the pendulum we can be the best judges as to where it should stop.[57]

Despite the incompatibility of "modern" educational philosophy with conservative Lutheran doctrine, some changes came about. The elective system, unheard of at Luther and Augsburg at their beginnings, gradually made inroads into the established pattern. By the 1920's electives were offered at Luther College in all the disciplines, although a classics professor still rejoiced,

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[57] O. P. Kretzmann, "The Unique Function of Lutheran Education Today," in The Unique Function of Lutheran Education Today (/Minneapolis?/: Commission on Higher Education of American Lutheran Conference and Continuation Committee of Conference of Lutheran College Faculties, /1944?/, p. 13. (Paper presented at the Eighth Annual Conference of Lutheran College Faculties, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, October 8 and 9, 1943.)

> Though the original requirements in Latin and Greek have been somewhat reduced, in order to make more room for elective subjects, still the curriculum remains fundamentally classical, as was the case with the German "gymnasium" which originally served as the model for Luther College.[58]

At Augsburg College the curriculum continued for fifty years with a prescribed program for all students. A revision in 1919

> ...introduced a number of new elective subjects, through which the plan for the school became somewhat more elastic. This was done in order to accommodate those demands which public education made and by this to make the school's college and academy departments most fruitful for those young men who seek to come here.[59]

St. Olaf, founded to provide broad liberal educations especially for those not planning to enter the ministry, adopted an academic course at its inception, "nearly all subjects being optional."[60] When the college curriculum was organized (1889), it "consisted almost entirely of required subjects, with emphasis on Greek, Latin and religion." Within a year, however, electives were offered.[61]

Elective subjects have multiplied with the pressures of modern American education, so that the system of majors and minors plus electives in almost every subject was the rule in each of the colleges studied.[62]

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[58] Rovelstad, op. cit., p. 278.

[59] Helland, Augsburg Seminar, p. 354.

[60] Quarter-Centennial Souvenir..., n.p.

[61] Benson, op. cit., p. 131.

The methods of American education became a part of the teaching at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. Gradually the discussion method and the seminar were introduced, teaching was geared more to the student, and guidance became a part of the colleges' services to their students.

However, the personnel services had a different foundation. They were organized and administered as a part of the Christian atmosphere in which the students lived. Using a "Christian approach,"

> ...the aim of the counselling program was to make it possible for the student to make the most of his college course, to acquaint him with the ideals and aims of the college, to help him in understanding his own interests and capabilities, and to confront him with the responsibilities of life.[63]

The "Christian approach" to curriculum, to the elective system, or to counselling was held to be the frame into which the pieces of education fit. One loyal alumnus put his enthusiasms thus:

> The broadening of the curriculum was therefore in no way a departure from the original purpose of the College, that namely of giving all its students a sound and thorough education on a Christian basis.

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[62] See college catalogs.

[63] Benson, op. cit., p. 328.

> "On a Christian basis?" Precisely. Education at Luther is education with a plus. We have a Bible Department. But it is not simply one among the rest. It is the soul of the institution. It is that which gives the school its distinctive character, and puts real meaning into all the school does.[64]

Liberal arts versus vocationalism. As has been demonstrated, Lutherans have historically held to a conservative stand on many issues, including, not least, vocational education. A Lutheran educator in 1943 stated the stand of the church colleges in this way.

> Through all the storms of the past century, intellectual, cultural, social, and spiritual, the Lutheran Church has been marked by a rugged steadiness and a healthy skepticism over against the new and the untried which has enabled it to come to this hour in the time of man comparatively untouched by many of the weaknesses in modern thought which have now become so tragically evident. It therefore approaches its present task with all the inherent power of detachment and objectivity....When the wave of vocationalism swept over American education, we remained comparatively undisturbed. Certain adjustments had to be made, of course, largely dictated by the immediate needs of our constituencies, but by and large we remained liberal arts colleges with their vastly important emphasis on the disciplines which give meaning and value to life.[65]

The peculiar genius of Lutheranism has been that of standing aside from the great social and intellectual debates of the more liberal Protestants. Lutherans have, therefore, moved slowly in curriculum changes at their colleges. The subject of vocationalism was not a real problem in the early history of the schools since they were avowedly pre-professional in their training. The one central purpose was that of training ministers for the Church. This aim demanded all the energies of school men, both pedagogical and financial. So all-consuming was the desire and need to train the ministry that Augsburg College and Luther College during their early years could make little more than token gestures toward the education of those who did not aspire to the ministry. St. Olaf, on the other hand, became a multi-purpose institute almost immediately upon becoming a college.

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[64] N. Astrup Larsen, "Soli Deo Gloria," Luther Alumnus, XXXI (January 1961), 5.

[65] Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 13.

The first real vocational training began, naturally enough, with the preparation of teachers, at first for parochial schools, and later for the American public schools. Lutheran communities were anxious to hire young men and women from Christian institutions to serve as teachers and administrators. Pressures from church supporters of the colleges lead to the expansion of the curriculum in order to prepare students for teaching in the public schools. Teaching attracted Lutherans, as this profession had been highly regarded since the time of the Reformation. Martin Luther had stated that, if he had to leave preaching, he "would not be so glad to have any other work as that of schoolmaster....Indeed, I scarcely know which of the two is the better...."[66]

Gradually, of course, the curriculum was changed to satisfy the demand for vocational training in many fields. Even the citadel of Norwegian Lutheran conservatism, Luther College, began to stress its professional and pre-professional training.

> ...no education can be "liberal" or "cultural" in the strictest sense, for every course of study prepares more directly for some few professions or vocations than for others. This fact holds good also in the curriculum of Luther College. First of all, it furnishes an excellent preparation for the most effective work in the Christian ministry. Furthermore, the graduate from Luther College, both in respect to general cultural background and in regard to specific knowledge, is equipped to pursue special work in other professions, such as those of teaching, medicine, law, and others. Even those students at Luther College who do not plan to complete their course at this institution may by a judicious election of studies prepare directly for two or more years toward a later professional career, meantime experiencing the stabilizing power of a Christian atmosphere in a Christian college, which serves as an intermediate stage between parental love and care and the freedom and trials of university life. Such courses have a long-established precedent in the pre-medical, pre-engineering, pre-law courses which have been given for the last twenty years in many colleges and universities. Nevertheless, of course, the curriculum is pre-professional merely in a broad sense and less in the special

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[66] Luther, "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School," pp. 173-174. See supra, Chapter II, p. 38 , and Chapter III, p. 90.

> sense which applies to a law school or a medical school of science.[67]

At times the trend to vocationalism even at Lutheran colleges seemed to be gaining the upper hand. College catalogs in the years after the second World War advertized the multiplicity of their professional and preprofessional programs as a means of attracting students. Undoubtedly in many instances it became a matter of sur vival in the face of competition from publically supported institutions. Dean Jerald Brauer of the University of Chicago's Federated Faculty of Theology upbraided the church colleges for their attempts to win large enrollments by sacrificing something of their own distinctive qualities.

> The problem is that the Christian college is still trying to be all things to all men, not in order to witness to the vitality of the faith but in order to keep the doors open. This cannot go on. Why should a student take commerce, secretarial work, or even a teaching certificate in a Christian college when the quality of work (and frequently the services of the campus religious foundation) is of a much higher order in a state or private institution? The answer is quite simple--the Christian college has had to add these things, unexamined, to its curriculum in order to survive. Survive for what, when it is no longer engaged in a distinctive effort?[68]

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[67] Rovelstad, op. cit., pp. 279-280.

[68] Jerald Brauer, "The Christian College and American Higher Education," The Christian Scholar (Autumn, 1958, Special Issue), p. 240.

In spite of this indictment, a number of professional and pre-professional programs were included in the curricula of all the Norwegian Lutheran liberal arts colleges by 1960. This indicated perhaps the recognition that liberal arts and vocational training

> ...should be conceived of neither as hostile rivals nor as mutually exclusive enterprises but, on the contrary, as two essential and complementary aspects of the total preparation of the individual for his total life.[69]

Although there was general agreement as to the inclusion of the traditional professional and pre-professional programs, some variance in vocational emphasis was evident. (Tables IV and V).

All six colleges offered pre-professional work in dentistry, law, medicine, social service and theology. In a sense, these fields were the traditional outgrowths of liberal arts preparation, the service of humanity. All six colleges also offered professional work in business administration, church work, and secondary education.

One college, St. Olaf, has not included elementary education in its program, although all the other colleges have included this as a part of their curriculum. Luther College has not gone as far toward vocational education

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[69] Theodore M. Greene, "A Liberal Christian Idealist Philosophy of Education," Modern Philosophies and Education; Fifty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, 1955, p. 118.

TABLE IV

PRE-PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS OFFERED AT NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

Programs	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Architecture		x				x
Civil Service		x				
Dentistry	x	x	x	x	x	x
Dental Hygiene			x			
Engineering	x	x		x	x	x
Government and Foreign Service		x				x
Law	x	x	x	x	x	x
Library Science	x	x	x	x		x
Medicine	x	x	x	x	x	x
Medical Technology	x	x	x		x	x
Nursing	x		x		x	
Optometry		x	x			
Pharmacy			x			
Rural Living			x			
Social Service	x	x	x	x	x	x
Theology	x	x	x	x	x	x
Veterinary Science		x			x	

Source: College catalogs.

TABLE V

PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS OFFERED BY NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

Programs	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Business Administration	x	x	x	x	x	x
Church Work	x[a]	x	x	x	x	x
Elementary Education	x	x[d]	x	x	x	
Secondary Education	x	x	x	x	x	x
Home Economics	x		x		x	x
Industrial Arts			x[b]		x	
Liberal Arts	x	x	x	x	x	x
Medical Technology	x[c]	x[c]	x[c]		x[c]	
Music		x	x		x	x
Choir Conducting			x			x
Organist						x
Nursing		x[c]			x[c]	x[c]
R.O.T.C.						x
Secretarial	x	x	x	x		x

[a] Diaconate in connection with other institutions.

[b] Interior decoration.

[c] In connection with other institutions.

[d] Special education program in addition.

Source: College catalogs.

as have the other colleges in the study. Generally, the older the college, the less it has desired to disturb the liberal arts traditions and add professional programs.

The discussion has continued within the Norwegian Lutheran colleges as in the larger academic world. Concessions from advocates of both the liberal arts and the vocational courses have been made, but the Lutheran liberal arts colleges generally concur with Kretzmann's statement:

> It may be necessary to recognize the practical need for technical training and terminal curricula. However, even if these are introduced, the hard core of the curriculum should remain in the field of the liberal arts. Also the technical training should be given in the proper cultural and spiritual environment. The world will have need of technicians who also have an understanding of truth and the good life.[70]

The pressure for accreditation. In the early years of the twentieth century many changes in the curriculum were effected. The interest in curricular change was due in part to the reorganization and implementation of science, education, social science, physical education, home economics, and other departments.[71] In part, also, the changes in curriculum came about as the result of a growing awareness of the practices in other colleges and universities and a desire to achieve greater conformity and cooperation.

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[70] Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 14.

[71] Benson, op. cit., pp. 138-142; Gjerset, op. cit., pp. 394-395.

Both cause and effect of these efforts was the growth of the regional accrediting agencies. Colleges throughout the country craved the prestige involved in acceptance by such agencies. The accrediting associations aimed at minimum standards for the colleges and evolved means by which to measure and classify them. To the colleges it became desirable to seek recognition for the sake of their alumni who entered high school teaching and to aid other graduates in becoming accepted for graduate and professional study.[72]

The president of Augustana College in 1919 outlined the requirements of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools:

The requirements for North Central accreditation include

> ...at least eight well-developed departments; an endowment of at least $200,000; one hundred students doing full time work; sufficient library and laboratory equipment.[73]

The desire for accreditation by the regional accrediting agencies on the part of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges indicated that the schools had arrived at the stage in their development where they wanted to be recognized by the public at large. Since accreditation meant meeting certain standards, diligent efforts were made by the colleges to achieve acceptable programs. This necessitated making Norwegian colleges more and more like other American institutions.

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[72] Benson, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

[73] "Report of the President of Augustana College to the Church Body," Annual Report of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church...1919, p. 43.

Luther College and St. Olaf College both received accreditation in 1915 (Table VI). Undoubtedly inter-college and inter-synod rivalry hastened the process also for them. At that time the second major church merger (1917) had not yet occurred. Luther College belonged to the Norwegian Synod and St. Olaf to the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, and there was considerable rivalry between the educational institutions. (See Figure 1)

The struggling younger colleges found themselves at first unable to meet the suggested standards, although they obviously recognized the desirability of accreditation. However, Concordia College was accredited in 1927 and Augustana received its accreditation in 1931. Pacific Lutheran University achieved initial accreditation in 1936, but it did not become a four-year liberal arts college until 1941.[74]

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[74] Theresa B. Wilkins, Accredited Higher Institutions, 1960 (Washington, D. C.: Office of Education, 1960), pp. 12, 16, 25, 28.

TABLE VI

MEMBERSHIP OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES IN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND ACCREDITING AGENCIES

Association	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Regional accreditation (with year*)	NCA 1954	NCA 1931	NCA 1927	NCA 1915	NWA 1936	NCA 1915
Association of American Colleges	x	x	x	x	x	x
American Council on Education	x		x	x	x	
National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education	a	x	a	x	x	
National Lutheran Educational Conference	x	x	x	x	x	x
National Association of Church-Related Colleges		x	x			
Phi Beta Kappa						x
American Association of University Women		x	x	x	x	x
American Chemical Society						x
National Association of Schools of Music			x			x
A.M.A., Medical and X-Ray Technology		x				
Council for Social Work Education		x				
Total memberships	4	8	3	6	6	7

*Date of initial accreditation.

aIn process of being examined.

Source: College catalogs.

By 1954 Augsburg College had achieved accreditation. One of the oldest colleges treated in this study, it was nevertheless the last of the six to receive accredited status. That Augsburg achieved accreditation indicated the change in emphasis that became pronounced when the college changed its name from Augsburg Seminary with College Department to Augsburg College and Theological Seminary in 1929.[75]

In the last thirty years the number of national and regional accrediting agencies has multiplied until one commentator stated,

> To read the list of accrediting bodies that have mushroomed in the last decades is almost a humorous experience. Altogether there are about two hundred different accrediting agencies, and frequently two or more operate in practically the same field.[76]

The reaction to this situation has been loud and strong, especially among church colleges. There have been questions raised concerning the tradition of separation of church and state and whether the church colleges should seek any kind of accreditation. The Norwegian Lutheran colleges, while protesting the multiplication of accrediting agencies, have nevertheless been forced to seek accreditation in some of them

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[75] Cf. supra, p. 264.

[76] A. J. Brumbaugh, "Trends in Accrediting Procedures," The Unique Function of Lutheran Education Today, p. 37.

(Table VI). Some help was indicated by Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, Secretary of the Commission on Colleges and Universities of the North Central Association, in a talk in 1943:

> In general it may be said that, while a revolt is in progress against too meticulous and arbitrary standards being set up by all these diverse agencies, there is a definite trend toward evaluation of the various institutions in terms of their specific objectives. The best accrediting agencies do not seek to make all institutions conform to a single pattern, but they do insist that each institution shall have clearly defined goals and that honest and thorough work shall be done in seeking to attain these goals. In evaluating the work of a given institution, it is not felt that absolute standards need be set up to be conformed to in all respects. Rather, there are standards of relative excellence in various areas against which the work of the institution is measured....Thus, no institution is to be judged simply on the basis of conformity or lack of conformity to a given standard in any one specific area....The pendulum, having swung to the extreme of too great insistence upon "standardization," is swinging back toward making accreditation a more reasonable and genuinely helpful instrument of judgment in the measuring of educational values.[77]

Effects of the Second World War. Upon the entry of the United States into the Second World War, the American government called upon the colleges and universities to assist a second time in training necessary leadership for the war effort. Just as the colleges and universities of the country pledged their total strength to the President of the United States,[78] so the Norwegian Lutheran colleges responded by putting their facilities at the disposal of the government.

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[77] Brumbaugh, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

> The government of the United States, through the Commissioner of Education, has called upon all the institutions of higher education to assist in training the leadership necessary in the war effort. Augsburg too has responded to the call by placing its facilities at the disposal of the nation to render whatever services may be feasible including the introduction of a limited number of new courses especially related to the students' needs during the present crisis.
>
> Certain specific programs have been outlined by the Army and Navy enabling students to enlist in some branch of the service and still continue on in a college for a considerable period.[79]

Augsburg College leased one of its dormitories to the University of Minnesota to be used by an Army specialized training unit.[80] St. Olaf had a Naval Pre-Flight Preparatory School.[81] The training school occupied part of the campus, and some of the regular faculty taught the servicemen. The facilities used by the government were leased from the colleges at four per cent of their book value.[82]

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[78] Declaration made at the 1942 Conference on Higher Education and the War, quoted in Higher Education in the National Service, Report of a National Conference of University and College Administrators...1950 (American Council on Education Studies, Series I, No. 44; Vol. XIV. Washington: American Council on Education, 1950), p. 3.

[79] "Report of the President of Augsburg College," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1942 (Minneapolis: Messenger Press, 1942), pp. 32-33.

[80] "Report of the President of Augsburg College," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1944, p. 37.

[81] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Annual Report of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1944 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944), Part I, p. 71.

The Norwegian Lutheran colleges continued to function as liberal arts colleges with greatly decreased enrollments during the war, but the situation for several of them was critical. Luther College, for example, had lost its main classroom and administration building by fire in May, 1942, a situation which added to its predicament.

> With the decline in enrollment, which hit Luther particularly hard, since the boys have until now formed the larger part of the student body, and since a military unit could not be taken in due to the loss of Old Main, balancing the budget has been very difficult....
>
> Did God guide us into coeducation in order to maintain Luther during the depression, through the fire, and through the World War II?[83]

To help with enrollment and to enable students to take an accelerated course summer sessions were inaugurated. Thus some students could complete their college training in three years and two summer sessions.[84]

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[82] Benson, op. cit., p. 313.

[83] "President's Report, Luther College," Annaual Report of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1944, Part I, pp.62, 64.

[84] Benson, op. cit., p. 307.

The immediate post-war years had an almost overwhelming effect on American higher education. What happened to the general college scene also characterized the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. Former students returned to the campuses in large numbers. With the aid of the G. I. Bill of Rights, service men and women were entitled to an education at the college of their choice.[85] After the Korean conflict of 1950-1953 even more veterans were entitled to a college education.

Enrollments at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges shot up overnight. Facilities to house and educate the hundreds of returning students and veterans left much to be desired. During the war there had been no building programs, and pre-war facilities had already been inadequate as the result of the prolonged depression.

In addition the veterans required greatly expanded housing facilities, a large increase in the complement of faculty, vocational and academic counselling, and a modified approach to discipline. An administrative officer at each college, often the dean of the college, was chosen as the liaison officer between the student veterans and the Veterans' Administration of the government.

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[85] Veterans were entitled to at least one year of college education, plus as much time as they had spent in active service. "President's Report, St. Olaf College," _Annual Report of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1945_, Part I, p. 94.

Many of the veterans were married and had families. The federal government made available temporary housing units by utilizing surplus barracks. These possessed many disadvantages but mushroomed nevertheless on college campuses.[86]

The post-war period brought a decline in moral tone among students.

> It can scarcely be questioned that, with the coming of the post-war period, Augsburg stands again at an important crossroads in her history. ...But it is probably true that an even greater problem is created by widespread decline in spiritual and moral tone among our American people, a decline accentuated in many ways by the war.[87]

For Lutheran colleges the discipline of the veterans proved to be a delicate point. Most of the veterans were far more mature than the post-war undergraduates and refused to abide by the rather paternalistic rules of the colleges regarding dormitory living. Their attitudes toward drinking, swearing, and other matters were often alien to the college regulations. This led to some disciplinary problems.[88] On the whole, though, veterans proved to be a serious-minded, purposeful group.[89]

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[86] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Annual Report of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1946, Part I, p. 95.

[87] "Report of the President of Augsburg College," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1947, p. 42.

[88] "President's Report, Concordia College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1946, Part I, p. 100.

[89] "President's Report, Augustana College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1946, Part I, p. 106.

It became evident that the requirements upon the colleges would be modified in the post-war world.

> ...We are of the opinion that this trend toward college will be for a longer duration than is generally assumed. The war experiences have demonstrated to the country the value of college training. Furthermore, the program of the government has stimulated a wider interest in college education among many people who hitherto had not given any thought to an education that goes beyond learning the simple rudiments of a specific skill.[90]

The influx of students in post-war years resulted in serious re-appraisals on the part of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. There was some talk of the demise of the liberal arts, due to the demand for specialization in a rapidly expanding technology. The president of St. Olaf College, Clemens Granskou, thought otherwise.

> What next in liberal education? Prophecies vary. Some predict the complete collapse of the traditional liberal arts program. Others are more certain that the war has strengthened the need of training along broader rather than narrower lines. Even the stringent immediacies of our day are bringing to light that an education which focuses on specific objectives must have a broader base if it is to function beyond a narrow groove. As civilization demands more specialization it will also require more liberal education in order that the part may be integrated more effectively into the whole. The present situation calls for a revival of faith in the cause and the program of the Christian Liberal Arts College.[91]

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[90] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," _Annual Report of the N. L. C. A._, _1945_, Part I, p. 93.

[91] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," _Annual Report of the N. L. C. A._, _1944_, Part I, pp. 71-72.

Faculty committees were appointed to conduct self-studies at each of the colleges. The post-war planning on both national and local levels included curriculum changes, projects for additional campus facilities, revised financing, and long-range development planning.[92]

Much discussion of general education occurred, and the Norwegian Lutheran colleges followed the trend. General education usually comprised the required study for the first two years, while the major and minor studies were pursued in the second two-year period. The swing was not as much to vocational education as had been expected, although business education, social work, and other fields were added to liberal arts college curricula.[93] On the contrary, the basic liberal arts curriculum with the Christian emphasis became the center of the required study at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges.

> The problem of Christian higher education must be to teach people how to live as well as how to make a living. In a complicated civilization like ours we shall always be in need of technicians in all fields of human endeavor. But the more we specialize, the more will we need to look to our foundation. Science and technology have given us many blessings. But science and technology are merely instruments. And an instrument may be used either for good or evil purposes. Our task on a Christian college campus is to encourage our young people

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[92] Higher Education for American Democracy; A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947, 1948), I, 47-66; V, passim.

[93] "President's Report, Concordia College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1945, Part I, p. 105.

> to reinterpret their faith in the light of present-day obligations and to organize their behavior along lines of Christian convictions.[94]

The Board of Christian Education of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, through its Division of Higher Education with its executive secretary, led the Norwegian Lutheran colleges in planning for the post-war period. The Board gave advice and inspiration toward long-range development plans for each of the colleges.[95] Development staffs headed by an administrative officer in each college planned concerted efforts at canvassing alumni, business organizations, and philanthropic foundations for gifts. Greatly expanded public relations and promotion staffs aided in this planning. Colleges became "big business."[96] Buildings of all types rose on the campuses to meet the needs of the enlarged student bodies. Valuations increased until the colleges represented large enterprises. The 1960 edition of American Universities and Colleges listed the valuations of the colleges as:

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[94] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1945, Part I, p. 94.

[95] For example, the Centennial Development Fund at Luther College, 1956-1961, was in large part planned by Orville Dahl, then Executive Secretary of the Division of Higher Education. Dr. Dahl also acted as educational consultant to Augsburg College in its development plans.

[96] Luther College; The President's Report, 1958-1959 (/Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen, 1959/), p. 5.

Augsburg	$2,380,000
Augustana	2,650,568
Concordia	3,469,694
Luther	3,873,084
Pacific Lutheran	4,787,564
St. Olaf	8,181,979[97]

The federal government entered the field of higher education in larger measure. Moreover, it helped the colleges at a time of great need by making long-term loans at low interest rates available for such additions as dormitories, cafeterias and other service facilities.[98] Further federal assistance came indirectly in the form of National Merit scholarships and a variety of loans and scholarships under the National Defense Education Act of 1958.[99] For the colleges the aid was needed, but it posed serious problems. The matter of the relation of federal aid to the traditional separation of church and state, and the question as to how far church colleges could allow government assistance by accepting federal help were two of the unsolved problems facing the Norwegian Lutheran church in its educational program.[100]

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[97] Mary Erwin, ed., American Universities and Colleges (eighth edition; Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1960), pp. 402-403, et sqq.

[98] Report on the Long-Range Development Program... Luther College, 1956 (/Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956/), p. 14.

[99] Homer D. Babbidge, Jr., "The National Defense Education Act and Current Issues Before Congress," Current Issues in Higher Education, 1959; Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual National Conference on Higher Education (Washington, D. C.: Association for Higher Education, 1959), pp. 50-51.

[100] "Church Colleges and the Changing Educational

Under this combination of somewhat overwhelming circumstances, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have repeatedly and increasingly felt the need to re-examine themselves and to state their purpose in the light of the changing times. President Granskou of St. Olaf expressed this need in terms of a new concern for Christian education which assumed two forms: 1) a need to recover the importance of religion in the educational process, and 2) a desire to "strengthen the moral, spiritual and cultural ties that bind the world together."

> Economic needs, scientific advances, and industrial developments have brought about a world neighborhood. Christian education, as the arm of the Church, is concerned about making that neighborhood into a brotherhood.[101]

The years after World War II saw the greatest period of expansion in the history of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges but, at the same time, the loss of most of their separate identity as Norwegian Lutheran institutions with the consequent awareness of themselves as Christian liberal arts colleges.

Forces Working Toward Integration

As has been indicated, the pattern followed by the

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[100] (Cont.) Climate," taped radio program over WCAl, Northfield, Minn., January 25, 1961. Issued by Department of Public Relations, Evangelical Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minn.

[101] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1945, Part I, p. 94.

Norwegian Lutheran colleges almost since their founding has been that of gradual Americanization. Almost imperceptibly at times, they tended toward integration with the American educational scene as a whole. The process was accelerated with additional contact outside of their own Norwegian environment. Students at the college habitually took the more aggressive role in contacts with other institutions, through the various student organizations. Faculty and administration contacts outside their own milieu produced profound changes also.

Student organizations. From their earliest days, students at the Lutheran institutions of learning formed their own societies and associations. These groups gave expression to the students' felt need for studies and activities not included in the regular curriculum of the college. Students at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges were usually a new generation, the product of the American environment as well as of the Norse heritage. They could not and would not remain insulated from the impact of their surroundings.

The student organizations at once showed an inclination to introduce the American way to the Norse college. This was true even at Luther College, where church domination and provincialism fought a determined delaying action. Thus the first college paper, College Chips, appeared in English as an indication that students wished to be a part of the society in which they lived.[102] Chips served the students in many ways, not least of which was in keeping them informed about the world at large. Through a system of exchanges with other student newspapers and journals from such institutions as Harvard, Princeton, Bowdoin, Yale, Ohio State University, Trinity College, Toronto, Amherst, Notre Dame, and Cambridge and Edinburgh universities, students learned of the aims and activities of many types of schools. In September, 1884, the exchange editor mentioned that he received copies of "sixty or seventy" exchange papers.[103]

Sometimes the opinions expressed in Chips were more "liberal" than those of the administration. There were repeated appeals for a gymnasium.[104]

> We wish to make known that a gymnasium is a pium desideratum among the students of Luther College...
>
> Mind and body should be educated in harmony. They are too closely related that we should lavish all our care and attention on the one and neglect the other. The mind cannot work well in a sickly and weak body. Therefore an educational institution should provide also for the education of the body, that it may be sound, vigorous, and strong, not to speak of the more

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[102] Supra, p. 249.

[103] College Chips, I (September 20, 1884), 95.

[104] Ibid., April 30, 1884 et sqq.

> manliness of appearance and gracefulness of bearing which physical training gives, and which, though not essential, are things not to be overlooked.[105]

Also high on students' lists of desires were debating societies, athletic programs, and musical organizations.

Dissatisfaction with curriculum structure crept into the pages of Chips, and new courses were proposed as of benefit to the education of students toward more immediate vocational goals.

> Our colleges give the students work enough, as long as they compel them to study everything put down on their program, but they do not give the student a large enough option, one and all are pushed through the same machine as regularly as ever. If two men do not intend to follow the same studies after their college course, I fail to see why it should be absolutely necessary that they should take up the same studies at college. It would be more desirable that each student could have a chance to perfect himself, to a certain degree, in those branches which he intends to pursue afterwards. It would be a great privilege, and that privilege ought to be granted.[106]

French, political economy, history, Shakespeare and other English literature were urged as additions to the then very limited course. The example of Johns Hopkins University, already referred to,[107] was set forth as an ideal in offering a more liberal curriculum, including both classical and scientific courses.[108]

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[105] Ibid. (April 30, 1884), 58-59.

[106] Ibid., I (June 20, 1884), 84.

[107] Supra, p. 263.

[108] College Chips, I (June 20, 1884), 83-85.

Student societies carried many of the students' desires into action. Once an activity was initiated on campus, the college administration more easily saw the need for it in the regular curriculum. New instructors to take responsibility for these additions were, therefore, also required. Usually men possessing such qualifications had not been trained at Norwegian Lutheran institutions, so the colleges were forced to appoint men trained at the "Yankee" institutions.

A great number of organizations were initiated by students, flourished briefly, died, and were replaced by others. At Luther College there was the "Clio Society," devoted to speeches, declamations and debates. English was the official language; in debate no other language was tolerated. "Minde," later called "Ygdrasil," first questioned the ruling prohibiting political debate. "Osseo" became the first society to permit political debate. "Muspelheim" furnished students with desirable American magazines as one of its contributions to student life.[109] A stenographic club was organized to continue a course that the college dropped. A drawing club also began to continue a class no longer taught at the college. A chemistry club was organized before such a course came to the campus.[110]

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[109] Bothne, op. cit., pp. 373-400.

Inter-collegiate debate came as a result of student initiative. Enthusiasm ran high at all the colleges. The Chips editors commented,

> ...the contests are also productive of much good. They bring the various colleges into closer communion, and give them opportunity to test each other's strength and abilities. Here the colleges, through their representatives, may find their superiors, and have a little conceit and college pride rubbed away. Competition, moreover, is calculated to bring life into dead bodies....
>
> These oratorical associations bring the colleges on a friendly footing, unite them in sympathy, by giving them a great common interest. This fosters, in turn, a spirit of independence, manliness, and enterprise, which is the highest commendation for any undertaking.[111]

At St. Olaf, literary societies had begun as early as 1888. In 1887 the student monthly, the Manitou Messenger, appeared. Women formed debating and literary societies as well as men; the first women's society began in 1889. After a time the men's and women's societies were grouped as "brother and sister" societies, which co-operated in many activities.[112] Since the colleges had no speech teachers, the responsibility for coaching the participants in inter-society and inter-collegiate meets fell upon members of the English department. Later the colleges saw the need of hiring speech instructors as the result of student iniative.[113]

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[110] Carl W. Strom, "Student Organizations," Luther College Through Sixty Years, pp. 316-317.

[111] College Chips, I (November 30, 1884), 130.

[112] Benson, op. cit., p. 163.

Student societies were formed at Augsburg Seminary as early as 1870, and the student newspaper, the Echo, appeared in 1898. Augsburg's societies tended, however, to exist for specific purposes such as missions, temperance, Sunday school teachers, and so forth. There were two reasons for this: first, Augsburg was primarily a theological seminary, and second, the emphasis continually stressed pietistic living.[114]

Athletics played a significant part in the Americanization process of the Lutheran colleges. Introduced and carried on by students, intercollegiate games were scheduled and played without any great enthusiasm or backing from the college administrations. This was in large part due to the apathy of the church bodies toward physical education at schools for the training of ministers.[115] Football was played almost daily, using Rugby rules, and the game had avid supporters.[116] Baseball came to be enormously important and undoubtedly had much to do with introducing the American spirit.[117]

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[113] Ibid., p. 165.

[114] Helland, Augsburg Seminar, pp. 325-338.

[115] Benson, op. cit., p. 170.

[116] Bothne, op. cit., p. 396. Cf. also College Chips, I (January 1, 1884), 3.

Luther College, indeed, became quite famous for its baseball teams. Many outsiders who had no other knowledge of the institution recognized the college as something of a baseball power.[118]

Baseball and football coaches were not to be had from Norwegian Lutheran colleges. Imported from the state universities, they gradually assumed a larger and more trusted role in the life of the college.[119] Often the college administration was "severely criticized in many quarters for what was regarded as over-emphasis in baseball.[120] Athletics triumphed, however, and came to be recognized even in the college catalogs.[121] Thus another activity introduced by students received the sanction of the church college and became a part of its expanding curriculum.

From their earliest years Norwegian Lutheran colleges have included music in their programs.[122] The rationale for its inclusion was, first, that it was praised by Martin Luther and included in his schools,[123] and second, that it was harmonious with the aim of preparing men for church work.

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[117] See supra, Chapter VI, p. 184, A. Veblen's account of baseball at Luther College.

[118] O. W. Qualley, "Athletics and Military Drill," Luther College Through Sixty Years, p. 336.

[119] Coaches and teachers of education were listed under "Special Instructions" and not as regular faculty. Cf. O. A. Tingelstad, "Faculty," Luther College Through Sixty Years, pp. 125-130.

[120] Benson, op. cit., p. 168.

[121] It was listed at St. Olaf as early as 1900. Loc. cit.

> Since Luther College aims to prepare men for church work, it has always provided instruction in subjects that would prove especially valuable in the field of theology. One of these subjects is music.[124]

The Lutheran church has traditionally been called "the singing church." Undoubtedly the emphasis upon music and the quality of music developed at Lutheran colleges had an impact beyond both the colleges and the churches that supported them.

The colleges developed choirs and concert bands which, even as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, began extensive tours in this country and to Europe.[125] Music became the medium whereby Lutherans evoked enthusiasm and admiration on the part of all who heard their traveling organizations. The clearest evidence that Lutherans influenced education as well as being influenced by it can be found by examining the history of music in the Middle West in both public and private institutions.

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[122] Katalog...Luther College...1872, p. 26 (Appendix A, p. 456. At Augsburg College, although there were no prescribed music courses, vocal music was definitely a part of the program. "Music is correctly recognized as a meaningful factor in all intellectual development...it develops and disciplines both the heart and the mind." Augsburg Seminarium, 1890-91, p. 30. "Vocal music twice a week for all classes in college." Augsburg Seminary, 1894-95, p. 9.

[123] See Chapter II, pp. 55-56.

[124] C. N. Evenson, "Music," Luther College Through Sixty Years, p. 361.

[125] In 1906 and 1911 the Luther College Band toured

The success and impact of the St. Olaf Choir under the direction of F. Melius Christiansen was well known. In 1913 his _a cappella_ group sang in Norway. In 1920 it sang at Carnegie Hall, giving a program of Bach, Mendelssohn, Gretchaninoff, great Lutheran chorales, and Norwegian folk melodies.

> It wasn't just another college chorus; it was a cathedral choir from the Old World, singing with unbelievable beauty and perfection. Year after year the fame of the group and its conductor spread. In 1930 the choir made a European tour.
>
> At the college in Northfield visiting musicians studied Christiansen's technique; his students went out to train others in the art of a cappella singing. The movement gained momentum and by the 'thirties the change from glee clubs to a cappella choirs in the colleges and high schools of the nation was well under way. In the summer of 1935 the Christiansen Choral School was started, a short summer course for choral teachers which continues year after year with great success.[126]

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[125] (Cont.) the Pacific Coast. In 1914 the Band toured Norway. In 1906 the St. Olaf Band toured Norway, and in 1913 the Choir made a tour of the Scandinavian countries. Evenson, _op_. _cit_., pp. 372-75; Benson, _op_. _cit_., pp. 178-183. These were the earliest extended tours. In recent years all of the colleges in this study have sent at least one musical organization abroad.

[126] Bergmann, _op_. _cit_., pp. 287-288.

Two of Christiansen's sons have continued the tradition at Norwegian Lutheran colleges, Paul at Concordia and Olaf at St. Olaf. All the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have for many years had traveling choirs patterned after the eminently successful St. Olaf original.

While F. Melius Christiansen was making his enviable reputation for the St. Olaf Choir, Carlo Sperati was developing a band at Luther College which made that school well known far from its Decorah environs. The Luther College Band began early with extensive tours; in 1906 and 1911 to the Pacific Coast and the Northwest, in 1914 to ten countries of Europe as well as many of the principal cities of the United States; in 1915 an official engagement at the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco.[127]

Music generally differed from other extracurricular activities in that it had status from the beginning as "young people must be trained in this art, since it produces fine and skilled people."[128] While students initiated and carried into execution the first actual concerts to outsiders,[129] the colleges soon began to support and promote the musical development. Directors of music came from the ranks of Norwegian Lutheranism.

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[127] Evenson, op. cit., pp. 372-374.

[128] Luther, Table Talk. See supra, Chapter II, p. 56.

[129] Benson, op. cit., p. 172.

Here was one activity which needed no personnel from among non-Lutherans or "Yankee"-trained professors. Often the directors were themselves trained for the ministry. Sperati was an ordained pastor; F. Melius Christiansen had spent the years 1893-1897 at Augsburg Seminary.

Luther College bandmen and St. Olaf choral musicians went out as directors and teachers in the public schools and the world beyond Norwegian Lutheranism. In their way they helped mold the musical taste and curriculum of America.

In more recent years patterns of student organizations have been modified. The literary societies were largely replaced by departmental clubs and honor societies in almost every branch of the curriculum, for example, French Club, Home Economics Club, history, English, music or speech national honoraries, Chemistry Club, Student National Education Association, National Collegiate Players, and dozens of others. Student government made great progress and the colleges became members of the National Students' Association. Athletics, politics, forensics, international relations, music, publications all had their organizations which held the interest of different segments of the student body. St. Olaf College students could aspire to membership in Phi Beta Kappa, which had a chapter on the campus. Other colleges had

Blue Key and similar scholastic groups.

Contacts with other colleges and universities across the nation followed organization of clubs and student government. The mid-twentieth-century student at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges had freed himself almost entirely from his Norwegian associations. There remained for most of the students only a certain special interest in Norway and its customs as the land of their forefathers.

Faculty and administrative associations. It was natural that the faculty and staff of Norwegian Lutheran institutions should take part in the academic and community life of the world at large. Increasingly such associations became a matter of satisfaction to faculty and colleges alike. In so doing, the faculty and administration, like the students, had a part in hastening the Americanization of the colleges.

The first Norwegian immigrants occupied themselves primarily with their fellow countrymen. The language barrier, frontier conditions, and the rural nature of the Norwegian immigrant settlements prevented much contact with the "Yankees." Similarly, the exclusiveness of their conservative Lutheran faith and a sense of mission to Norwegians only on the part of the clergy kept the educated class too busy with their own people to make much contact with their environment.

Laur. Larsen's trip in 1866 to visit some American institutions in the Midwest was an exception to the general pattern.[130] The Luther College president made several good friends among the presidents and faculty of the other institutions. Although he did not continue these contacts for long, "this first visit to other colleges was more than a little episode in Larsen's long life."[131]

The early leaders of Augsburg College, located in urban Minneapolis, found more opportunity to reach outside their own milieu. In particular, Sven Oftedal became a public figure in Minneapolis. Much sought as a speaker, he was a leader in educational and civic affairs. Within his church body he was a creative and voluble leader. He still had enough energy to carry on a number of projects outside the church. In 1878 he was elected to the Minneapolis school board, a post he held for ten years, during four of which he served as its president. He was credited with organizing the present high school system in Minneapolis.[132] Oftedal served on the library board from 1886 to 1896. He was elected to that post by the state legislature as one of the charter members of the then new Minneapolis Public Library and was chairman of the library committee for at least six years.[133]

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[130] Supra, Chapter VI, pp. 174-179.

[131] K. Larsen, op. cit., p. 188.

[132] O. N.Nelson, ed., History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States (Minneapolis: O. N. Nelson, 1893), I, 529. See also L. Lillehei, "Sven Oftedal," Augsburg Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church, p. 20.

> By him was prepared and put into operation a plan for branch libraries located in different parts of the city, making it easier for people in the outlying districts to obtain books. It is owing to him that the Scandinavian literature, especially the Norwegian, was early so fully represented at the Minneapolis library.[134]

Oftedal's interest in modern languages also carried him outside his own people. His work for and among the Greeks in Minneapolis and in Greece made him a popular figure on both sides of the ocean. He frequently addressed the Greeks in their own language, and the Greeks in Minneapolis grieved at his death "as those who have lost not only a dear friend but a father."[135]

Oftedal probably would have been more pertinent had not his heavy duties at Augsburg Seminary prevented his doing so. J. A. Bergh, the Norwegian-American historian, indicated,

> ...If he had gone into Scandinavian editorial work, as there was once some talk of it, it could have brought him into American politics and through that to Washington. And he would have made his mark.[136]

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[133] *Loc. cit.*

[134] Lillehei, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[135] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[136] Bergh, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

Many later Norwegian-American Lutherans came to be leaders in the greater American scene, but more often the educators who remained at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges found their responsibilities too heavy to allow for much activity in the larger environment. It was true also that the majority chose to work in the church rather than on the secular scene. Some former professors at the colleges made a name for themselves after leaving the campuses. Among these such men as M. H. Trytten of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C., Carl Strom, at present Ambassador to Bolivia after a distinguished diplomatic career, and Bryn Hovde, Director of the New School for Social Research, New York, could be mentioned.

F. Melius Christiansen and Carlo Sperati, with other music educators at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges, influenced groups outside the world of Lutheran higher education, as has been indicated.[137] As conductors and advisors to musical groups and conferences they were in constant demand over a wide geographical areas. Their successors, too, have continued this service to high school and college groups throughout the country. Compositions by these musicians, particularly in band and a cappella choir music, made many outside the Lutheran environment aware of the Lutheran musical heritage.

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[137] Supra, p. 309.

In the years following the first World War, and especially since World War II, American scholarly organizations mushroomed. Similarly, the faculties of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges, like those of all colleges, multiplied. The faculty did more teaching in their own fields and had fewer administrative duties. Administrative officers were found to take over these duties, until faculty members served only on a limited number of committees. Working conditions and salaries improved.[138] Faculty members desired to participate in regional and national conferences of professional associations.

Professors and research scholars in many fields felt the urgency of gathering for mutual contact and stimulation. The faculties of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges joined such associations, organized along the lines of the several disciplines. Increasingly faculty members from the Norwegian Lutheran colleges were seen at and made contributions to the conventions of the Modern Language Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Music Educators National Conference, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the College and University

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[138] Benson, op.cit., p. 318.

Bandmasters Association, the Association for Higher Education, or the American Association of University Professors.[139] Contacts with these and many similar groups widened the horizons of the Norwegian-Americans, and they returned to the campuses with many new and more "liberal" ideas. Most of the faculty members were by that time second or third generation Norwegian-Americans, and conformity to American patterns was a _fait accompli_.

With the rise of many-faceted administrations, a number of administrative officers were needed where once the college president played as many roles.[140] Vice-presidents in charge of development or business affairs became common, and guidance personnel multiplied rapidly.[141] Soon a number of associations grew up to serve the mutual needs of the administrators. Norwegian Lutheran colleges again followed the pattern set by other American institutions and sent their presidents to the American Council on Education and the American Association of School Administrators, their registrars and deans to the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Administrative

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[139] Jaques Cattell, ed., _Directory of American Scholars_ (third edition; New York: Bowker, 1957), 836 pp.

[140] _Supra_, Chapter VI, p. 192.

[141] A. O. Davidson, "Intelligent Planning of Institutions: Development and Quality Education," _New Dimensions in Lutheran Higher Education_, p. 95.

Officers, and their student deans to the National Association of Deans of Women and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators.[142]

Increased faculty and administration mobility was coupled with more specialization in teaching fields and administrative duties. The faculty had somewhat more time to conduct research and contribute to scholarly periodicals. A number of faculty of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges obtained grants and fellowships from the Fulbright program, the Ford Foundation, the National Science Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation and many others. Several scholarly magazines were produced by Lutheran faculties. Among them were Discourse, published by the faculty of Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, Cresset and The Lutheran Scholar, both published under auspices of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. The latter publications accepted contributions from other Lutherans, while the former sought contributions from scholars regardless of faith.

Through their ever-expanding activities outside the colleges the faculty and administrators made wide contacts. They found themselves aligned with many educators from both private and public institutions. As their horizons widened, Norwegian Lutherans accepted much from others in determining the role of their own colleges, but they were also driven to self-examination in order to defend their own Lutheran tradition.

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[142] Cattell, op. cit., passim.

Forces Moving Toward Separatism

While many factors pulled Norwegian immigrants toward closer identification with their American neighbors, certain movements also tended to keep them separate from other groups. Two of the strongest forces that interested Norwegian Lutherans were the strictly Lutheran associations organized for contact and mutual support, and the desire for better articulation of Lutheran patterns of thought and philosophy. The latter objective led to plans for the establishment of a Lutheran university in America.

Inter-Lutheran patterns. The end of World War I found Norwegian Lutheranism on the threshold of many adjustments in the field of education as well as to the world at large. After almost constant church friction and struggle since the 1880's, several synods had merged in 1917 to form the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.[143] Thus, for the first time, Luther College of the Norwegian Synod, St. Olaf College, Augustana College, Concordia College, and Pacific Lutheran College of the United Lutheran Church, all came under the control of one church body. Of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges which have endured to the present, only Augsburg College, the institution of the Lutheran Free Church, remained outside of the 1917 merger.

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[143] This merger brought together the Norwegian Synod, Hauge's Synod, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. Hauge's Synod owned Red Wing Seminary, discussed earlier, which merged in part with St. Olaf College in 1917 and has disappeared as a separate institution. Cf. Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 129-225.

The new church which emerged began immediately to crystallize its own purposes and to seek the understanding of other groups. Essentially there were two extremes within the ranks of Lutheranism, both of which were spearheaded by large and powerful German Lutheran synods. At the extreme right was the high-church, strictly orthodox Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, with which the Norwegian Synod had had many contacts.[144] The United Lutheran Church in America, planted in this country before the American Revolution, represented the liberal position, with greater freedom in doctrinal statements and an historical approach in theology.[145] The strength of the United Lutheran Church in America was centered in the East, and to many Norwegian Lutherans this wing of Lutheranism represented the "American" Lutheran church.

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[144] Supra, Chapter V, pp. 122-124, et passim.

[145] Wentz, op. cit., p. 321.

Norwegian Lutherans tried to assume a middle position between the two extremes. They were attracted, on the one hand, to the conservatism of the Missouri Synod.

> When, for example, the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy spread across American Protestantism in the twenties, conservative Norwegian-American Lutherans cast their lot with the Fundamentalists. They accepted uncritically the presuppositions of Fundamentalism because their heritage had not equipped them with the knowledge or the tools with which to combat liberalism as Lutherans.[146]

The rigid dogmatism of the Missouri Synod, however, did not always prove palatable. In fact, the Norwegian Synod had had a very lamentable experience with the Missouri Synod doctrine of predestination.[147] Further, the exclusive practices of the Missouri Synod increasingly discouraged contacts by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Much of the approach of the United Lutheran Church of America, on the other hand, was attractive to Norwegians. They were, however, afraid of its liberalism and retreated to a new confessionalism sometimes referred to as "repristination theology."[148]

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[146] Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 285.

[147] Supra, Chapter VII, p.232.

[148] "The concern of the advocates of 'Repristination Theology' was to restore the treasures of Lutheran theology (cast aside by rationalism) by concentrating on the seventeenth century orthodoxist interpretation of the Reformation. It emphasized (1) verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and (2) legalistic use of the confessions." Nelson and Fevold, op. cit., II, 283 note.

Despite differences in theological emphases, Lutheran bodies did cooperate in many matters, some of which were of an educational nature. The first association on a national scale which Norwegian Lutherans entered was the National Lutheran Council, organized September 6, 1918. It enrolled as members most of the Lutheran bodies in America with the notable exception of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and its affiliates.[149] The objectives of this organization were stated as:

> 1. To speak for the Lutheran church and give publicity to its utterances on all matters which require an expression of the common conviction and sentiment of the church. 2. To be the representative of the Lutheran church in America in its attitude toward, or relation to, organized bodies outside of itself, including national and state governments. 3. To bring to the attention of the participating bodies all such matters as require common utterance or action. 4. To further the work of recognized agencies of the church that deal with problems arising out of war or other emergencies; to co-ordinate, harmonize, and unify their activities; and to create new agencies to meet circumstances which require common action. 5. To co-ordinate the activities of the church and its agencies for the solution of new problems which affect the religious life and consciousness of the people, e.g., social, economic, and educational conditions. 6. To foster true Christian loyalty to the state; and to labor for the maintenance of a right relation between church and state as distinct, divine institutions. 7. To promote the gathering and publication of true and uniform statistical information concerning the Lutheran church in

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[149] The Missouri Synod has in later years cooperated in certain emphases of the National Lutheran Council, notably the military chaplaincy and world relief.

> America. An eighth item was afterwards added: To undertake additional work with the specific consent of the participating bodies.[150]

The National Lutheran Council consisted of a number of divisions which united the efforts of the various Lutheran bodies. Among these one division, begun in 1946, had particular significance to this study. It was the Division of Lutheran Student Service.[151] Lutheran Student Service had as its purpose "to conserve the faith, develop the loyalty, and cultivate the spiritual life of Lutheran students both in Lutheran and non-Lutheran educational institutions."[152]

Lutheran student centers were established on college campuses, and an effort was made to establish Lutheran chairs of religion at non-Lutheran schools. By 1950 the Division of Student Service was reaching out to one-third of the eighteen hundred colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. It was estimated that there were 100,000 Lutheran students in these colleges.[153]

The Lutheran Student Association of America, an autonomous student organization begun in 1922, had certain ties with the Student Service Division (Division of College and University Work). The student association made its own program, elected its own officers and organized regional and national conferences. Student leadership was assisted and guided, however, by the pastors and staff workers of the Division of College and University Work of the National Lutheran Council. The purpose of the Lutheran Student Association of America was

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[150] Wentz, _op_. _cit_., pp. 303-304.

[151] Now called the Division of College and University Work.

[152] Wentz, _op_. _cit_., p. 312.

[153] _Ibid_., p. 313.

> ...to afford a means whereby Lutheran students in America may consider and act upon their common problems in the service of Jesus Christ in conformity with the common faith of the Lutheran Church of America.[154]

Through their program Lutheran students were thus brought closer together as Lutherans first, and as American Christians second.

In 1930 a smaller federation of Lutherans within the National Lutheran Council was formed. This group represented the middle position theologically and consisted of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church (later the Evangelical Lutheran Church), the Augustana Synod, the American Lutheran Church, the United Evangelical (Danish) Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church.[155] In reality the new cooperative association was somewhat of a duplication of the National Lutheran Council and its

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[154] Constitution of the Lutheran Student Association of America, Article II.

[155] The American Lutheran Conference, though dissolved in 1954, formed the basis for the 1960 merger of these same bodies, with the exception of the Lutheran Free Church. See Figure 1.

"distinctive mission...not easy to find."[156]

Although it may have been difficult to outline the distinctive purpose of the American Lutheran Conference, the federation did set out to give united attention to certain problems that each synod had had to meet separately. The objectives as stated in the Constitution were two-fold:

> Mutual counsel concerning the faith, life, and work of the Church, and co-operation in matters of common interest and responsibility.[157]

The fields of co-operation were:

> ...allocation of work in home mission fields, elementary and higher Christian education, inner mission work (Christian social service), student service in state schools and universities, foreign missions, the publication of Christian literature, periodic exchange of theological professors, and such other interests as from time to time may call for consideration.[158]

In the field of higher education the Commission of the American Lutheran Conference made some fruitful investigations. The mutual study of colleges under the control of the separate synods served not only to give Lutherans a clearer understanding of their mission but also offered an opportunity to measure their attainments as compared to the general American scene. In making their own evaluations, acquaintance with American educational matters led to adoption of many of its features.

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[156] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[158] *Loc. cit.*

The Commission on Higher Education of the American Lutheran Conference made two detailed studies. The first of these was the outgrowth of a conference at the University of Chicago (1933), which grouped of scholars from the various Lutheran colleges in the Conference. After an intensive study of Lutheran higher education, the Commission presented its findings as _Trends and Issues Affecting Lutheran Higher Education_.[159]

This first report devoted a good part of its seventy-five pages to defining the objectives and task of Lutheran higher education and to exploring the educational world outside of Lutheranism. The results were summed up by George A. Works, Dean of Students and University Examiner, University of Chicago, who acted as a consultant for the group.

> ...While the volume is to be regarded as the first fruits of an effort that should be continued over a period of years, its merits are ample to warrant its careful study by those who are interested in the welfare of the Lutheran colleges. It is a distinct contribution to the solution of the problems that these colleges face as a result of the changes educational, economic, and social of the last two decades.

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[159] _Trends and Issues Affecting Lutheran Higher Education_ (_Studies in Lutheran Higher Education_, second edition; Vol. I, No. 1. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1933]), 79 pp.

> Its publication should mark real progress for Lutheran higher education.[160]

A second study by the American Lutheran Conference took place in Minneapolis at the University of Minnesota (1935). This conference, of five weeks' duration, concerned itself primarily with curriculum, especially general education requirements of the first two years of college.[161]

The Chicago and Minneapolis Conferences came at a time when the Lutheran colleges were fighting for their existence.

> During the depression private institutions suffered severely from competition with tax supported institutions, and many of them were forced to close their doors or merge with another school. An important result was to bring under discussion in the press and in educational gatherings the problem of the relationship of the denominational and private institutions to higher education....the time had now come when the liberal arts college could have to fight for survival and perhaps be eliminated from the scheme of education in America unless it could render a service distinct and different from that of state institutions.[162]

The curriculum study which resulted from these reexaminations of education emerged as a determined effort to define the Lutheran position in education.

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[160] George A. Works, "Foreword," Ibid., p. [3]

[161] Christian General Education; A Curriculum Study (Studies in Lutheran Higher Education, first edition; Vol. I, No. 2. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1935]), 88 pp.

[162] Benson, op. cit., p. 277.

The Commission on Higher Education of the American Lutheran Conference continued making noteworthy contributions to the concept of Lutheran education.

April 19, 1936, and a Sunday yearly thereafter, was designated as Christian Education Sunday in all the congregations of the American Lutheran Conference.

In 1937 a series of articles on Christian education was prepared by leaders in educational thought and published in the Lutheran church periodicals.

In 1943 a promotional bulletin was issued to all educators in the American Lutheran Conference. It appealed for special support of Lutheran higher education and hoped to provide inspiration for its progress in the difficult days of World War II.[163]

The American Lutheran Conference ceased its existence in 1954.[164] One direct and continuing result of its work, however, was the Lutheran Faculties Conference. The faculty members of the Lutheran colleges in the Midwest have held annual meetings at the various college campuses since 1936. In 1948 the organization became permanent under the name "Association of Lutheran College Faculties." Usually a central theme has been discussed at these meetings.[165] The frequently recurring theme has continued to be a study of Lutheranism as an integrating force in education.

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[163] American Lutheran Conference, Twelfth Biennial, Minneapolis, November 10, 1954, p. 23.

[164] *Ibid.*, title page.

A National Lutheran Educational Conference has existed since 1910. In the early years of its existence the Norwegian Lutheran colleges did not participate in it. Nor did they participate actively in it while the American Lutheran Conference was in existence. The National Lutheran Educational Conference published a number of studies and discussions on Lutheran higher education, especially for the period 1919-1942.[166]

In 1958 the Conference adopted a fellowship program for graduate students, faculty at Lutheran colleges, and prospective teachers for the Lutheran Church.[167] In 1959 a paper, "The Christian Teacher--Channel of Excellence," was extensively distributed to the institutions who were members of the National Lutheran Educational Conference.[168]

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[165] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

[166] Issued annually as "Proceedings and Papers of the...Annual Meeting." Most of the meetings were in the East.

[167] New Dimensions in Lutheran Higher Education. Papers presented at the Golden Anniversary Convention of the National Lutheran Educational Conference...1960 (Washington, D. C.: National Lutheran Educational Conference, 1960), pp. 26, 31-33.

[168] Perry LeFevre, "The Christian Teacher--Channel

In 1960 New Dimensions in Lutheran Higher Education presented papers on Lutheran thought as to the history of Lutheranism, contemporary American culture, and new types of planning.

Although Lutherans learned much by sharing the separate experiences of each group in the inter-Lutheran organizations, the underlying motivation for the federations was to find the integrating force within Lutheranism. In a sense the association with other Lutherans represented an effort to maintain their separate identity apart from the other streams of American Protestantism. When Norwegian Lutherans went outside their own group it was to other Lutherans, who might widen but would also reinforce their views. In 1960 they cooperated in the National Lutheran Council, the National Lutheran Educational Conference, the Lutheran Faculties Conference, and the Lutheran Student Association of America.

On the worldwide scene Lutherans were bound together in the Lutheran World Federation, begun in 1923. Lutheran World Action was the organized means by which Lutherans shared wealth, clothing, and other material benefits, as well as personnel, by mutual strengthening

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[168] (Cont.) of Excellence." Address delivered at National Lutheran Educational Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, January 4-6, 1959. 10 pp.

of Lutherans around the world. Thus Lutherans acted together as a separate, self-conscious group on local, national, and international levels.[169]

Lutherans tended always to describe and discuss events and problems in terms of the Lutheran position. The first serious attempts at defining a Lutheran philosophy of education as distinct from the philosophy of each of the particular groups were found here. Together they made the first efforts to see what they shared from the heritage of Lutheranism.

Proposals for a Lutheran University. The early Norwegian Lutherans in America conceived of a complete system of church-related education from the elementary school through the university. Almost every local congregation of the Norwegian Synod started a parochial elementary school.[170] The church was concerned with high school education and founded a total of seventy-five academies over a period of seventy-five years, 1851-1927.[171] In its effort to establish an integrated program of education, however, the church encountered some difficulties which it could not master.

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[169] Wentz, op. cit., pp. 337-347.

[170] Supra, Chapter V, pp. 142-148.

[171] See note supra, Chapter VII, p.238.

> The story of the Church in education in the United States has been a story of retreat. It was first to establish the common school. It retreated to the high school level when the state provided a common school system. When the state established high schools the Church retreated to the college level. Now the democratic urge for education has entered college and the Church is facing the issue whether higher education is essential for its life. If it is essential, and must be continued at all costs, the Church needs a program which takes into consideration present developments and behind which it can place its faith and its resources to the limit.[172]

The Norwegian-American church retreated to its last and most redoubtable entrenchment, the liberal arts college. This it has sought to maintain with much sacrifice and in this institution it has, up to the present, made its most notable contributions. Nevertheless, the concept of a university has been continually present to greater or lesser degrees in the educational planning and purposes of Lutherans.

Luther College and Pacific Lutheran University[173] used the word "university" in connection with their original names. By necessity, Luther College concentrated on the pre-seminary training of pastors as a liberal arts college, but the original idea was to establish a university after the German and Norwegian patterns.[174] In fact, the first campaigns to get support for Luther College were conducted in the name of the "University Fund."[175]

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[172] Trends and Issues Affecting Lutheran Higher Education, p. 29.

[173] Pacific Lutheran University, opened as an academy, was Pacific Lutheran College until 1960, when it reassumed its original designation.

[174] *Supra*, Chapter VI, p. 161-162.

Both Luther College and St. Olaf College included the Master of Arts degree for brief periods in their program.[176] Never a very large aspect of the curriculum, the M. A. program revealed the inability of the pioneer colleges to develop a true graduate program, but it also indicated the desire on the part of Norwegian Lutheran educators to include the university concept within the scope of Lutheran education.

After some mergers had succeeded and Norwegian Lutherans were beginning to federate, the idea of having a Lutheran university gathered momentum. As early as 1919 the National Lutheran Educational Conference discussed the possibility of a university and passed a unanimous resolution "to pray earnestly for the consummation of such an undertaking."[177]

At the National Lutheran Educational Conference meeting in 1920 the matter was discussed further. The rationale for the establishment of a Lutheran university was stated as the duty of the Church to its university students.

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[175] Supra, Chapter VI, p. 187.

[176] Luther College granted twenty-three Master of Arts degrees "in recognition of work done elsewhere," 1883-1906; St. Olaf granted a small number of M. A. degrees to people "who were otherwise connected with the college" until the program was discontinued in 1922-1923. M. H. Trytten, op. cit., pp. 424, 427; Benson, op. cit., pp. 137, 234.

[177] Otto Mees, "A Lutheran University," National Lutheran Educational Conference, Papers..., 1920, p. 54.

> One thing is certain, the Lutheran church in the United States, being the third largest Protestant body, should be represented in the field of education from the bottom to the top. It is through efforts along educational lines that a body becomes influential, trains its constituency for places in the life of the nation, and thus keeps a position in the affairs of the people to which by virtue of its strength and numbers it is justly entitled.[178]

The proposal for a Lutheran university suggested the need for a philosophy of education to which the separate Lutheran synods could subscribe.

> It would have to represent and satisfy the fundamental principles on which the Lutheran Church is founded and with the adherence to which principles the Lutheran Church stands or falls.[179]

The suggested structure of the university included the traditional university colleges of arts and sciences, medicine, law and theology but, in addition, such products of the American influence as engineering and education.[180] The proposal, then, gave expression to a distinctively Lutheran approach in all fields in order to

> ...preserve and to propagate Lutheran consciousness, loyalty to the principles of the Lutheran Church, a philosophy true to the revealed Word of God, a science not in open

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[178] *Ibid*., p. 55.

[179] *Ibid*., p. 57.

[180] *Loc*. *cit*.

> conflict with, or even in declared enmity to Scriptural revelations...[181]

A Lutheran university supported by all the Lutheran synods was not consummated, but the idea did not die. Frequently the suggestion came up again. In the early twenties a prominent Chicago business man, Birger Oslund, and a pastor engaged in raising money for St. Olaf College, P. C. Birkelo, were talking of such an institution. "Their visions outstripped the possibilities of the times,"[182] however. The plan was discussed in educational conferences over the years. For example, the Lutheran Faculties Conference in 1943 heard E. W. Kastner, an advocate of the idea.

> A Lutheran university is necessary to successfully recruit, prepare, and send into the strategic positions in all the professions and vocations the...ever-increasing number of consecrated Lutheran lay men and women. It would give great prestige and impetus to Lutheran higher education to have at the top of our educational system a renowned Lutheran university to which the thousands of our Lutheran college students could go for a graduate and professional preparation second to none in the land. The existence of an outstanding Lutheran university would create in the hearts of our constituencies that consciousness of unity and common destiny through Lutheran higher education on which constituency support thrives. With their sons and daughters being the beneficiaries of this thoroughly Christian undergraduate, graduate, and professional preparation on a par with the best obtainable, our constituencies would be quick to grasp the value of this re-

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[181] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[182] Erik Hetle, *Lars Wilhelm Boe* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949), p. 108.

> vitalized program of Lutheran higher education and would regard it worthy of their support.[183]

The most serious attempt at actually founding a Lutheran university came in 1955 under the leadership of Orville Dahl, then Executive Secretary of the Division of Higher Education of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Dahl presented a plan for a Lutheran University of America consisting of the existing institutions of higher learning as participating members.

> The Lutheran University of America is the federation of graduate and professional schools, junior and senior colleges, institutes and agencies of higher learning which now exist or will come into being in the Evangelical Lutheran Church.[184]

After carefully defining the functions of a university and tracing the development of the idea among Lutherans, Dahl continued by enumerating the particular advantages of taking the step toward federation among Norwegian Lutheran colleges, listed under three potential fields of cooperation:

> 1) Cooperative studies or our background, significance to Church, needs of our people, general courses--syllabi, selection and training of teachers, comprehensive examinations, finance and administration, recruiting of students;

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[183] E. W. Kastner, "Cultivating the Support of Our Consistency," The Unique Function of Lutheran Education Today, p. 23.

[184] Orville Dahl, "A Concept of a University; The Lutheran University of America." (Unpublished manuscript, 1955), p. 33.

2) Educational cooperation for common syllabi, examinations, teacher placement, relation to general educational agencies and associations, stimulation of educational development, exchange of professors, educational journals, educational meetings of faculties;

3) Administrative cooperation in presentation of Christian education to the Church, student soliciting, placement of graduates, financial support, and joint purchasing.[185]

Dahl's suggestions implied the need for different specializations by the colleges in order that together they might accomplish the work of a university. One institution might concentrate on a curriculum and training for students planning to do social work, another college might emphasize teacher training, a third might concentrate on its science department, and so forth. This would avoid needless duplication on the part of sister colleges and would permit the development of at least one excellent kind of specialization at each college.[186]

The idea of a Lutheran university, although widely discussed, was not consummated. Individual colleges reacted unfavorably and no tangible results were achieved.

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[185] Ibid., p. 84.

[186] Although the plan as presented by Dahl did not actually say that each college should or would specialize, the idea did come out in discussions following his proposal. For the individual colleges this idea particularly met with disfavor, since each college was justifiably proud of its own tradition and wished to continue as a liberal arts college. Faculty meeting, Luther College, November, 1955, and interviews with Dr. Dahl, November, 1955, and February, 1956.

One of the more telling arguments stated that the educational arm of the Church had neither the finances nor the facilities to attempt competition with state universities.

Since 1955 one of the colleges of the Evangelical Lutheran Church became a self-proclaimed university. This was Pacific Lutheran University. In so doing it reassumed a name which it used in its founding days. In 1960 it dropped the name Pacific Lutheran College, "after a half century of trial,"[187] reorganized its program, and took the name of Pacific Lutheran University.[188]

The "University" at Pacific Lutheran represented a departure from the traditional liberal arts pattern of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. Seth C. Eastvold, President of Pacific Lutheran, expressed a belief "that yesterday was the day of the small college, while tomorrow will be the day of the small university."[189] Although the president reiterated that the preeminent role of the University was the training of men and women for work in the church, it also sought to train students in a diversity of programs.[190]

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[187] S. C. Eastvold, "The Small University in Christian Education," New Dimensions..., p. 80.

[188] The program of Pacific Lutheran University provides for five colleges and a graduate school: the College of Arts and Sciences, the School of Business Administration, the School of Education, the School of Fine and Applied Arts, the School of Nursing, and the Graduate School. Pacific Lutheran University Bulletin, XL (May 1960), 41.

[189] Eastvold, op. cit., p. 80.

Although Pacific Lutheran University was the first of the Norwegian Lutheran colleges to become a university, other colleges were recognizing the diversity of their curricula by granting degrees other than the traditional Bachelor of Arts, such as Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in nursing, medical technology, business administration, music education, physical education, *et cetera*, or Bachelor of Music.[191] St.Olaf College as recently as 1958 revised its by-laws in order to make it possible to readopt a graduate program "subject to the approval of the Board of Regents...as the Faculty shall decide."[192]

Perhaps Pacific Lutheran's decision was indicative of a future trend at Lutheran colleges. Despite a tradition of liberal arts and the primacy of preparation for the ministry, Lutheran colleges have increasingly given attention to all Lutheran students and their needs. They have not yet succeeded in combining their forces in creating a university, but the future may well see an increased effort to give advanced training in many more fields, all integrated by the Lutheran emphasis.

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[190] *Ibid*., p. 81.

[191] See college catalogs.

[192] "By-Laws of St. Olaf College," Article I, Section 1.02, *Annual Report of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, 1958, Part II, p. 522.

Summary

The pattern of Norwegian Lutheranism changed rapidly with increased exposure to the American environment. The pace accelerated in the decades following World War I. English finally became the dominant language, "the language of the heart." For second- and third-generation citizens of Norwegian extraction the Norse influence dwindled into little more than a romantic cultural identification.

Thrust into the American environment by the compulsion of history, the advocates of the retention of Norse culture in its entirety could but conduct a delaying action. Students pressed for American approaches and studies. Faculty members brought new impulses from their contacts with American educational institutions. In their efforts to accommodate more and more of their people, the Norwegian colleges introduced new and often more directly vocational courses with their attendant "American" philosophy. In seeking recognition for their educational product Norwegian colleges needed to adjust to American conditions in order to be accredited.

The Norwegian and Lutheran heritage was preserved in positive ways, however. Norwegian Lutherans sought and found associations with other Lutherans to help define and fortify their own educational philosophy. Attempts were made to develop a Lutheran university to further and complete advanced training for Norwegians and Lutherans.

Norwegians and midwestern Lutherans generally moved slowly and deliberately, as could be expected from their innate conservative stand. Adjustments came about only after struggle, but in the main Norwegian Lutheran educators took pride in the gradual Americanization of their institutions of higher education.

CHAPTER IX

CURRENT NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

In their hundred years of higher education in America Norwegian Lutherans have evidenced a remarkable consistency as to central purpose, while varying widely in their means of attaining that purpose. It was Soli Deo Gloria which sustained the pioneer founders of Luther College, and it remained this same aim that continued in all the Norwegian Lutheran educational institutions to the present day.

While the religious impulse has been paramount, Lutherans have evolved pedagogical principles in harmony with their theology. In all Lutheranism theology and pedagogy have been interwound with no real dividing line between them. It might, indeed, be as accurate to describe the Lutheran theory of education as "theology of education," as to call it "philosophy of education."

Martin Luther, for Norwegians as for other Lutherans, has been the source for both religious and educational ideas.

> The Lutheran Church was born in a university. How often Lutherans have made this boast, both to themselves and to others!... In their theories of general education

> Lutherans today draw the implications of Luther's reforms.[1]

Only recently, as Norwegian Lutherans have entered the main streams of American life, have they seriously sought to develop a complete and systematic philosophy of education. In fact, they have often confessed to failure in this respect.

> If Lutheran higher education can be accused of one great outstanding, nearly unpardonable sin, it has been its failure to develop, test, and apply a Christian philosophy of education. Our educational development has not come out of ourselves, our great convictions and hopes amid the conditions of life. It has been taken from our surroundings, often with little critical judgment of what we were adopting. Here is the great need of our Church if we are to have higher schools to meet our present tasks: educational thinkers to develop a Christian philosophy of education to replace the educational opportunism of the past.[2]

Norwegian Lutherans have often failed to reach agreement on educational matters and may even not have had a clear idea of a systematic and integrating philosophy of education. Still they have, by their actions and their statements, attained centrality and unity in many essentials. It is of Norwegian Lutheran consensus in education as illustrated by aims, curriculum, methods, the role of the educational participants, that this chapter deals. On the basis of these educational ideas a statement of Lutheran philosophy will be attempted.

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[1] A. R. Wentz, "Lutherans and General Education," What Lutherans Are Thinking, edited by E. C. Fendt (Columbus, Ohio: The Wartburg Press, 1947), p. 540.

[2] "Trends and Issues Affecting Lutheran Higher Education," pp. 71-72.

Aims and Objectives

The centrality of the religious aim was clear in the study of Norwegian Lutheran institutions. It appeared in the written and spoken statements from the earliest times to the present and constituted an integral part of every catalog statement.[3] For example, the statement of the aims of Luther College in the Catalog for 1872 does not differ greatly from that in the 1960-1962 Catalog. In 1872 the "chief purpose of the school's foundation" was

> ...to educate men who are qualified to serve the Norwegian Lutheran Church in this country as pastors and teachers. But, moreover, the school esteems it of the greatest importance to be able to admit as many other young men as possible and provide them with a good Christian education which can make them worthy and capable members as well of the community as of the Church.[4]

In 1960 the statement had been modified to include women, but in other respects the words were amazingly similar:

> The objective of Luther College is a liberal and thorough Christian education of men and women. In the attainment of this objective the College is mindful of responsibility to the

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[3] *Supra*, Chapter VII, pp. 167-169 *et passim*.

[4] *Catalog for the Norwegian Luther-College, 1872*, p. 17. See Appendix A, p. 436.

> individual student, its supporting church and society.
>
> Luther College aims to serve the individual student by providing an integrated program of spiritual, mental and physical development; to serve The American Lutheran Church [the merged church body begun in 1961] by helping to supply consecrated and enlightened leadership, both ordained and lay, in every field of Christian service; to serve society by fostering Christian ideals of patriotism and world citizenship.[5]

At Luther as well as at the other colleges, the chief purpose for existence remained the preparation of young Lutherans for service in their church, whether it be professional or lay in nature.

As the colleges grew, objectives were expanded to include the aims that were analogous to multi-purpose institutions. The Christian liberal arts program served as a loose framework within which objectives took their place. No decrease in religious emphasis occurred. This was in marked contrast to the pattern of many American colleges and universities, where emphasis on religion, Biblical languages and studies, and required chapel declined and often ceased to exist.[6]

Additional objectives called attention to an expanding curriculum. Thus by 1960 Norwegian Lutheran colleges were unanimous in citing only two types of objectives. (Table VII) One was "Development of Christian

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[5] Luther College Bulletin, Catalog 1960-1962, XL (May, 1960), 7.

[6] George P. Schmidt, The Liberal Arts College; A Chapter in American Cultural History (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 166-167, 182 *et passim*.

TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS AIMS OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

Aims	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Development of Christian faith	x	x	x	x	x	x
Application of Christian principles	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nurture in Lutheran faith				x		x
Encouragement of Vocational commitment to church service		x		x		x
Fostering of the work of the Christian church	x	x		x		x
Recognition of all vocations as Christian		x	x	x		

Source: College catalogs.

faith" and "Application of Christian principles." The only other unanimous agreement on a specific objective was found to be "Development of the intellect."

The aims and objectives as stated in college catalogs of the Norwegian Lutheran institutions varied greatly in form and detail, but they revealed a definite unity. (Table VIII) The four general categories of the aims could be cited as:

1. Development of Christian attitudes, commitment and character.

2. Attainment of cultural insights as a means toward personal satisfaction and social adequacy.

3. Understanding of world problems and attainment of a liberal education.

4. Preparation of students for vocational competence in church and civic affairs.

Control

The Lutheran Church exercised direct and indirect control of higher education by means of the church body, the Board of Christian Education, the Boards of Trustees,[7] and the college presidents. While adopting the "American

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[7] Pacific Lutheran University and Augsburg College had a Board of Trustees, Luther and St. Olaf had Boards of Regents, and Concordia and Augustana had Boards of Directors.

TABLE VIII

GROWTH OTHER THAN RELIGIOUS IMPLIED IN AIMS OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Attainment of a liberal education	x	x	x	x		x
Development of						
aesthetic values	x			x		
civic responsibility	x			x		x
scientific methods	x			x		
emotional maturity	x			x		x
skills	x			x	x	
intellect	x	x	x	x	x	x
recreational experience	x				x	
physical health	x	x	x	x	x	
understanding of social relations	x	x		x	x	x
vocational competence	x	x		x	x	x
Understanding of world problems and cultural differences	x			x		
ability to cope intelligently with modern problems	x	x	x	x		x

Source: College catalogs

pattern of operating colleges similar to business enterprises,"[8] the church gave much financial support[9] and retained much of the control.

The church body recognized the fundamental responsibility it had in providing for higher education.[10] In fact, it was to a large degree dependent upon the colleges for collegiate training of the ministry.

> Since 1917, eighty-five per cent of the pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church have received collegiate education in the Church's schools.[11]

This fact served to reinforce the view that, in the eyes of the Church, training for the ministry was the most important reason for higher education.

> The Church wants, above all else, that the "University" prepare its young men and women for Christian service in all areas of life, and particularly in the Christian ministry.[12]

The continuing influence and control by the Church was clearly shown by a set of principles for higher education enunciated as part of the final report of the Board of Christian Education of the Evangelical Lutheran Church before the merger forming The American Lutheran Church. These principles were written by Sidney Rand, Executive Secretary of the Division of Higher Education.

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[8] "Report of the Executive Secretary of the Board of Christian Education," Annual Report of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1960, Part I, p. 123.

[9] Although in recent years the percentage of operational expense borne by the church body has declined, it still paid twelve per cent of the operational budgets in 1959-1960. Loc. cit.

[10] Guiding Principles and Rules of the Lutheran Free Church, n.p., "Constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," Chapter II, Sec. 5 (c), Chapter III, Sec. 31.

[11] "Report of the Executive Secretary," p. 123.

[12] Eastvold, op. cit., p. 81.

> 1. The Church is engaged in higher education because it understands this work to be one way in which the Church responds to the missionary example and command of the Lord Jesus Christ.
>
> 2. The encouragement of young men to enter the ministry and the proper educational preparation of ministerial candidates is a necessary function of the Church through its schools.
>
> 3. The Church witnesses to its faith in God as the Lord and Redeemer of life in all of its aspects by carrying on an effective liberal arts and general educational program grounded in the Christian view of God, man, human life and history.
>
> 4. The successful operation of educational institutions requires the interest and support of people both at the local and synodical levels of church life.
>
> 5. Uniformity among the institutions on such matters as faithfulness to the Church's doctrine and the best in its tradition is necessary. Uniformity in educational program and patterns of management and administration is not necessary and perhaps not even desirable.
>
> 6. A mark of a college or a school being an institution of the Church is a competent staff of Christian men and women, some of whom should be clergymen. (The Church by practice, at least once by convention action in 1954, has expressed its preference for ordained men as presidents of the colleges and schools.)
>
> 7. A growing church in the present day requires theologically informed members both in volunteer service and in church occupations. The Church's educational institutions are obligated to prepare

> church members for such service in the Church.
>
> 8. The Church's educational program does not oppose or depreciate the place and value of publically supported education. As citizens the members of the Church support public education, and the Church must seek ways to relate the Gospel to the life of man in a culture where most of the people receive most of their education in non-church sponsored schools and colleges.[13]

The responsibility of the church body for higher education included six specific functions.[14] These were the selection of the boards of control, the supervision of property and endowment of the institutions, the exercise of final authority in matters related to the share of the college budget paid by the church body, the supervision of the work of the higher institutions, the maintenance of faculty committed to a philosophy of education consonant with the goals of the institutions, and the selection and removal of instructing personnel.[15]

The church body did not directly assume the responsibility for all of the functions mentioned but did by implication retain control in these matters and delegated some direct control to other agencies.[16] The

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[13] "Education," Annual Report of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1960, Part I, pp. 122-123.

[14] Rystrom, op. cit., p. 152.

[15] Ibid., pp. 155-156.

[16] Ibid., Table XXXIII, p. 154.

Evangelical Lutheran Church as a whole owned two of its five senior colleges, St. Olaf and Luther; whereas the others, Concordia, Augustana, and Pacific Lutheran, were owned by districts or a part of the church body. (Figures 2 and 3). In the case of Luther College and St. Olaf College the church body representatives, clerical and lay delegates to the annual conventions, also acted directly as the control body for the two colleges. Augsburg College was not directly owned by its church body, the Lutheran Free Church, but by a corporation. Indirect responsibility for the functions of higher education was, however, retained by the church.[17]

While the church body of the Evangelical Lutheran Church retained the right to maintain a faculty committed to Lutheran goals, in actual practice the selections of the faculty was made by the Board of Trustees (Regents) upon the recommendation of the president.[18] No conflict or infringement upon the authority of the local board seemed evident.[19] The selection of a faculty in harmony

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[17] "Relation between Augsburg College and Theological Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church," Annual Report of the Lutheran Free Church, 1953.

[18] By-Laws of Luther College and St. Olaf College, Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1958, Part II, pp. 523, 531.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

FIGURE 2

CONTROL OF NOWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

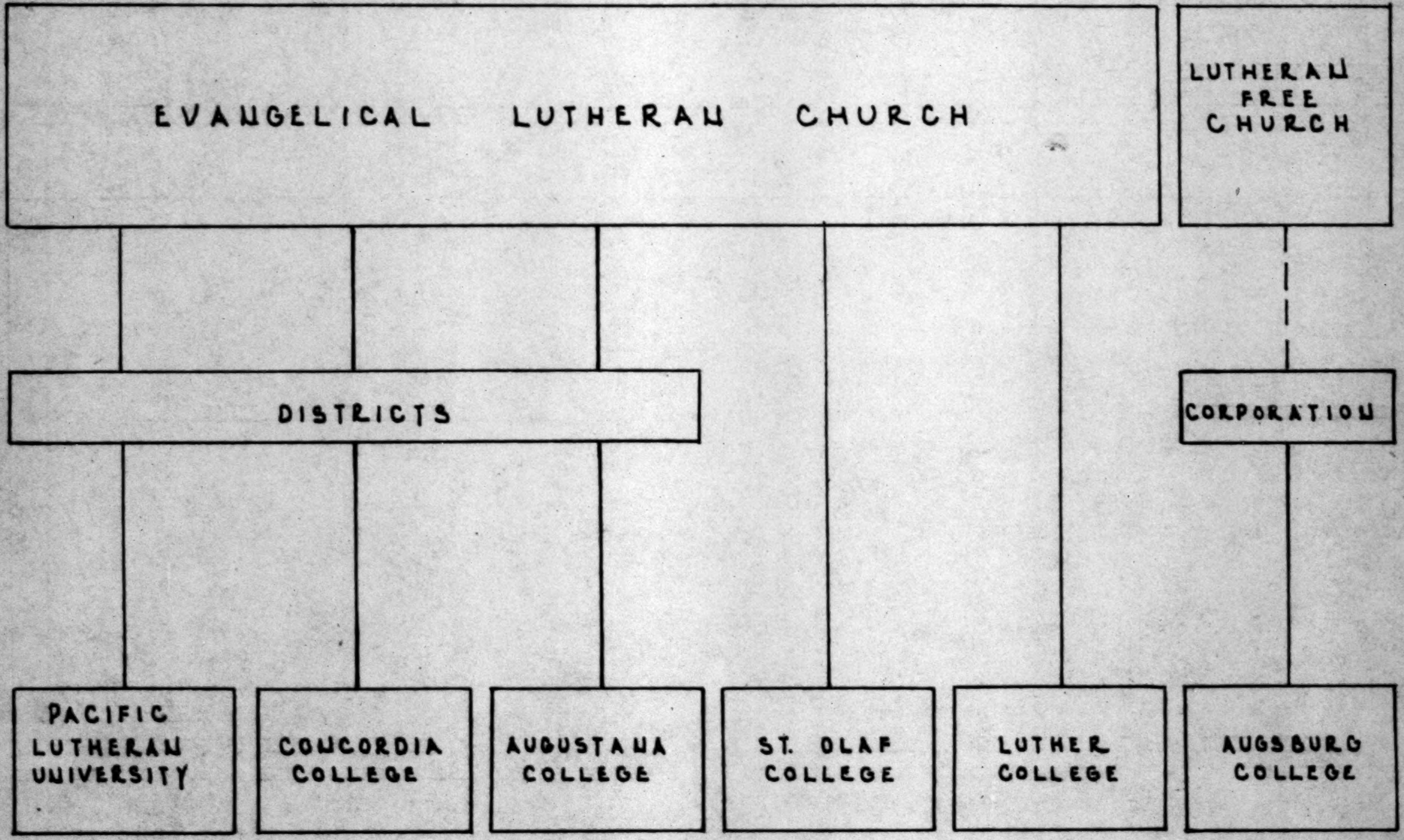
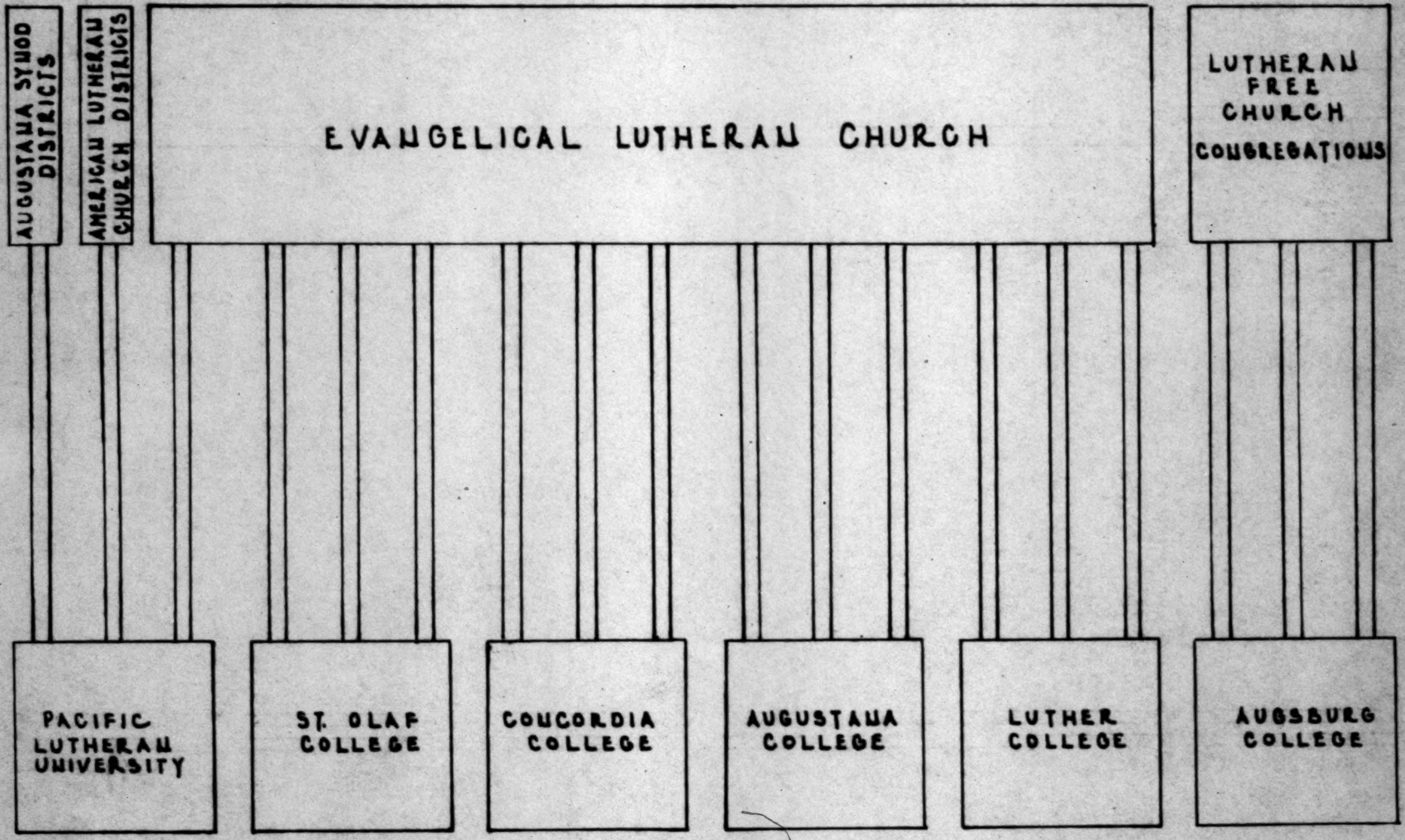

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH
DISTRICTS
CORPORATION
PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY
CONCORDIA COLLEGE
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE
ST. OLAF COLLEGE
LUTHER COLLEGE
AUGSBURG COLLEGE

FIGURE 3

SUPPORT OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES


AUGUSTANA SYNOD DISTRICTS
AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH DISTRICTS
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH CONGREGATIONS
PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY
ST. OLAF COLLEGE
CONCORDIA COLLEGE
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE
LUTHER COLLEGE
AUGSBURG COLLEGE

with the Lutheran faith was assured by the church body for at least two of the colleges.[20]

The Evangelical Lutheran Church had a Board of Christian Education consisting of the Divisions of Parish Education and Higher Education. The Board of Christian Education numbered fifteen members, eight in the Division of Higher Education and seven in the Division of Parish Education. The two divisions operated separately except in matters of general policy, when the two worked in unison. The Department of Christian Education employed an Executive Director and an Associate Secretary, the one in charge of higher education and the other the head of parish education. The function of the Board of Christian Education was that of establishing policies and acting as an advisory and coordinating agency for the separate colleges.[21] The Evangelical Lutheran Church had no specific requirements of ministerial training for membership on the Board or for the office of the executive director, although the latter, as well as his associate, were generally so trained. Of the fifteen members of the Board of Christian Education in 1960, nine were clergymen. Membership in the new Board of Christian Education formed by the merged churches consisted of twelve members, seven of whom must be clergymen and five laymen, elected by the general convention of the church body.[22]

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[20] _Supra_, Chapter VIII, p. 267.

[21] Telephone interview with Dr. Sidney Rand, Executive Director of the Board of Christian Education, The American Lutheran Church, February 22, 1961.

The management of business and the affairs of the colleges, the supervision of curriculum and instruction, and the establishment of policies became the responsibility of local boards.[23] One of their chief functions was that of selection of executive officers.[24] Another major function was the provision of funds and determination of expenditures.[25] Thus the local board, variously called board of trustees, of directors, or of regents, was entrusted with the actual control of the separate colleges.[26]

The Role of the Administrator

The presidents of the Norwegian Lutheran institutions have been, with few exceptions, ordained ministers. The Evangelical Lutheran Church had no specific requirement that a president be a member of the clergy, although the suggestion had repeatedly been made on the floor of the General Conventions of the church.[27] The Lutheran Free Church requirements for the president of Augsburg College purposely stated that a candidate need not be ordained. The president of the college was, however, also president of the theological seminary.

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[22] Reports and Actions of the Constituting Convention of The American Lutheran Church, 1960 (Minneapolis: n.n., 1960), pp. 126, 124.

[23] "Revised and Amended Articles of Incorporation of St. Olaf College," "Renewed, Amended and Substituted Articles of Incorporation of Luther College...," Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1958, Part II, pp. 521, 527.

[24] Rystrom, op. cit., p. 171.

[25] Loc. cit.

[26] "...Articles of Incorporation...," loc. cit.

Despite the fact that ordination was not required, it was the general practice of the Norwegian Lutheran churches to choose a president from the clergy. Although he was the chief educational officer, many of the presidents had had no specific training as educators. The college president, in addition to his position as executive head of the college and chairman of the faculty,[28] usually acted as chief pastor or spiritual head as well. Most of the presidents' reports and public utterances carried a pastoral tone.[29]

Except for the pastoral role the president of a Norwegian Lutheran college assumed, his executive duties were similar to those of other college presidents. His heaviest responsibility lay in executing the policies laid down by the Board of Trusteees (Regents).[30] The specific duties outlined in the By-Laws of Luther College and St. Olaf College were that of reporting annually to the Board of Regents and to the Corporation, that of signing diplomas, that of presiding at all meetings of the faculty and the senate of the faculty, where he had the deciding vote in case of a tie vote, and that of preparing and submitting an annual budget to the Board.[31] Furthermore, the president recommended the names of faculty members to the Board for appointment.

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[27] Rystrom, op. cit., p. 182. Cf. supra, p. 348.

[28] "St. Olaf College By-Laws" and "By-Laws of Luther College," Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1958, Part II, pp. 523, 530.

[29] See Presidents' Reports in Annual Reports of the E. L. C. and the Lutheran Free Church.

The Lutheran institutions on higher education indicated the practice of unit control in their executive departments. All administrative officers were directly responsible to the president, and through him to the Board of Trustees.[32] In the early years the whole faculty made decisions with the president.[33] Increasingly the Lutheran institutions have developed means of lessening the administrative load of the president by sharing some of the executive responsibility among faculty committees.

> ...officers of administration and faculty membership at Lutheran institutions had given some consideration to means of organizing the faculty for assuming a degree of faculty participation in the executive function of the president commensurate with its time, understanding, and ability to serve.[34]

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[30] Rystrom, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[31] "By-Laws of Luther College," p. 530.

[32] Rystrom, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[33] Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

[34] Rystrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

The By-Laws of the colleges provided for a president, one or more vice-presidents, a dean of the college, a business manager, and other officers "so designated by the Board of Regents."[35] This additional body of administrators aided the president by assuming some of the executive load, but the office of president of a Norwegian Lutheran college still was an onerous and many-sided one.

The Role of the Faculty

As followers of Martin Luther the Norwegian Lutheran church members gave a revered place to teaching and the teacher. Luther stated that teaching and preaching went hand in hand and praised the teacher's role.

> Let it be one of the greatest virtues on earth faithfully to train other people's children; very few people, almost none, in fact, do this for their own.[36]

The pervasive influence of Luther's teaching was indicated in the selection and retention of faculty members. Generally Lutherans were sought as potential teachers. Graduates of the Lutheran schools provided the backbone of the faculty. The By-Laws of Luther and St. Olaf college were illustrative of the demand for Christian and Lutheran faculty members. St. Olaf's By-Laws stated,

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[35] "St. Olaf College By-Laws," "By-Laws of Luther College," Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1958, Part II, pp. 523, 531.

[36] Luther, "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School," pp. 173-174. See supra, Chapter II, p.38.

> As a general rule the qualifications for teaching at St. Olaf College shall include membership in the Lutheran Church. In all cases faculty members and personnel shall be persons of moral integrity and Christian character.[37]

Luther College included in its By-Laws an even more restrictive phrase regarding faculty, in its statement about tenure. "Only teachers of the Lutheran faith shall be granted tenure."[38] At Luther College new faculty members of any denomination were required to subscribe to the doctrine and teachings of the Lutheran Church. Faculty members at all the colleges were issued a Letter of Call in lieu of a contract.[39]

However, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges looked for more than parochial teachers; they sought excellent scholars who were also dedicated Christians. L. M. Stavig, President of Augustana College, observed:

> Our effort must always be to secure men who are qualified in three ways. Every college teacher must possess the technical knowledge required in his field. In a day of specialization, we can never be content to accept anything less than a thorough academic preparation. In addition, we must seek personnel that is qualified to teach. It is not enough that men be equipped with the necessary knowledge in a given field. A teacher must also be able to transmit this knowledge in a manner that will stimulate, inspire, interest, and inform his students. Finally, we seek personalities which are fired by a personal commitment to the Savior, Jesus Christ. Christian

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[37] "St. Olaf College By-Laws," p. 523.

[38] "By-Laws of Luther College," p. 531.

[39] Copies of Letters of Call in possession of the writer.

> colleges must be staffed by Christian teachers. It is no easy task to provide personnel which meet all of these requirements.[40]

The structure of the faculty at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges followed the general American pattern. It consisted of the president of the college, the officers of administration and the teaching staff. With the approval of the Board of Trustees, this group established departments of instruction, courses of study, and requirements for admission and graduation. The faculty had the power to expel or suspend students and to establish the rules and regulations for each college.[41]

The role of the faculty member was accorded much respect. It has been stated by the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod that the teacher was "ninety per cent responsible for the success of a school."[42] The Missouri Synod, more than any other Lutherans, developed a complete system of education, and this statement applied primarily to their schools at the elementary and secondary level. Nevertheless the statement did delineate in bold proportions a basic tenet of all Lutherans regarding the role of the teacher.

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[40] "Report of the President, Augustana College," _Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1946_, Part I, p. 107.

[41] "By-Laws of Luther College," "St. Olaf College By-Laws," pp. 531, 523.

[42] L. G. Bickel and Raymond F. Surburg, eds., _Readings in the Lutheran Philosophy of Education_ (Thirteenth Yearbook of the Lutheran Education Association, 1956; River Forest, Ill.: Lutheran Education Association, 1956), p. 12.

Martin Luther's exploitation of the doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers" led to the conclusion that a Lutheran faculty member should be able to relate his own faith to education and to see the implications of the Christian faith for all aspects of higher education. In addressing a meeting of the National Lutheran Educational Conference, Dr. Perry LeFevre outlined three fundamental kinds of knowledge a Christian teacher should have.

> First, he should have a theological stance in relation to higher education; he should be moving toward a theology of higher education. He needs to come to his own understanding of the theological foundations of higher education. He needs a place whereon to stand intellectually, from which to view the total complexity of his tasks, and of the society, the culture, and the institutional framework within which he actively pursues his vocation. To put it another way, he needs to know enough theology to be able to formulate his own position on the relation of the Christian faith to higher education, to relate his own Christian faith to what he is about in higher education.
>
> Second, he should know enough about his students to be able to understand their existence situation from a Christian perspective. Finally, his theological sophistication should be sufficient to allow him to address the problems of relating the Christian faith to his own disciplines within the framework of the Christian faith.[43]

Thus the Lutheran faculty member ideally played a role combining that of the well-informed teacher, thoroughly at home in his own discipline, and that of the theologian, speaking with ease of the implications of the Christian faith for higher education as a whole and for his discipline in particular. In a sense, then, Luther's equating of teaching and preaching continued to find expression in the role of the faculty member in Norwegian Lutheran colleges.

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[43] Perry LeFevre, "The Christian Teacher--Channel of Excellence." Address delivered at the annual meeting of the National Lutheran Educational Conference held at Kansas City, Mo., January 1-6, 1959. Mimeographed, p. 4.

The Role of the Student

The student body at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges, like the faculty, was composed of representatives from a generally homogeneous North European background. Those of Norwegian background still comprised the majority in 1960.

As descendants of North European Lutheran pioneers the large majority at each college was Lutheran. A tabular exhibit (Table IX) showed that the percentage of Lutherans at Norwegian Lutheran colleges ranged from 63.3 per cent to 92.3 per cent. Three of the institutions in this study had over ninety per cent Lutherans in their student body. For all Lutheran colleges in the United States, the average percentage of Lutheran students was revealed by a recent study to be 66.4 per cent. The five colleges of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and Augsburg College of the Lutheran Free Church had 85.3 and 82.9 per cent Lutherans, respectively. The percentage of

TABLE IX

CHURCH AFFILIATION OF STUDENT BODIES OF NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Year represented	'59-60	'57-58	'57-58	'59-60	'59-60	'59-60
Lutheran	1063	1124	1389	1135	1486	1662
Non-Lutheran	203	652	115	150	844	171
Total students	1266	1776	1504	1285	2330	1833
Percentage of Lutherans	80.0	63.3	90.2	92.3	63.3	90.65
Percentage of Non-Lutherans	20.0	36.7	9.8	7.7	36.7	9.35

Lutheran students at Norwegian Lutheran institutions was thus considerably higher than that of Lutheran institutions as a whole and was exceeded only by the percentage of Lutheran students at schools operated by the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (89.6 per cent).[44]

One of the results stemming from a large Lutheran student population was a continuation of the attitudes toward authority and the ministry learned in the homes of the students. A comment in 1908 about the student body could almost have been written in 1960.

> A common nationality! A common religion! Is it strange, then, that young American Lutherans of Norse descent feel satisfied when they come to the plain and unpretentious halls of St. Olaf? Is it strange that, when they look into each other's faces, they know each other?...The men who founded the institution, the men who have supported and developed it, the men who today are directing it in its larger growth and widening influence, are their own. The atmosphere, the spirit, the individuality of the college is the same as that which pervades the homes and the churches from which these young men and women have come.[45]

Respect for faculty and administration characterized the majority of student-faculty contacts. Frequently the phrase "college family" was heard. Although there was a certain paternal-filial relationship between faculty and students, student government and student organizations flourished much like those on other college campuses. At St. Olaf the honor system had

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[44] New Dimensions in Lutheran Higher Education, p. 34.

[45] Benson, op. cit., p. 156.

> ...established a tradition for student responsibility and cooperation. The student parliament, in which the principal organizations...were represented, and the student-faculty committees were significant elements in the formation and expression of an intelligent student opinion.[46]

The honor system in all written examinations, curiously enough, was found only at St. Olaf, where it had functioned for almost fifty years.[47]

Students at the Norwegian Lutheran schools were expected to keep high personal and moral standards and were strictly forbidden or warned against certain activities, such as possessing or drinking alcoholic beverages, social dancing, gambling, "visiting places of questionable nature" or taverns, smoking on the part of women, use of profane language, and even "time-wasting television viewing or movie-going."[48]

While some of these regulations were held in common with those of other colleges, Norwegian Lutheran colleges applied more restrictions to their students than many public or private institutions. For a large section of the student body, however, these restrictions formed part of their early upbringing.

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[46] Ibid., p. 328.

[47] Ibid., p. 151. It was organized in February, 1911.

[48] College catalogs.

On the other hand, attendance at daily chapel exercises and at public worship on Sundays contributed to the positive aspect of the students' role at the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. At all of the colleges regular attendance at chapel was expected; at Luther College and Pacific Lutheran University attendance at chapel exercises was required.[49] Three of the colleges[50] stated that consistent failure to attend daily chapel might result in the suspension of a student from the college. Two of the colleges recently established student congregations on the campuses. The student congregations at St. Olaf and Luther were organized much like those in any other Lutheran church and gave the members a sense of direct participation in a congregation while at college.

S. C. Eastvold, President of Pacific Lutheran University, expressed the typical attitude of the college administration and the church in his remarks about the Lutheran content of the program at Pacific Lutheran.

> My chief and really only interest as the president of this college is to give to it a definite Lutheran Christian emphasis. Born in a university, the Lutheran Church has had a contribution to make which, it seems to me, no other kind of Christian education has anywhere

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Pacific Lutheran, Concordia, St. Olaf. Ibid.

> in America. With the daily chapel exercises, the daily evening devotionals, the daily devotionals at the three meals, with the emphasis at every class on Christian life, with the off-campus and on-campus devotionals and atmosphere, it seems to me there can be no question but what Pacific Lutheran College is making a real contribution to the spiritual emphases of the Christian Church and America, and is becoming an increasingly valuable handmaiden for the Church.[51]

Lutheran students on the whole conformed to the pattern expected of them by the administration and faculty. They were themselves inheritors of the Lutheran traditions and generally wished to conserve and strengthen that heritage.

Curriculum

The Norwegian Lutheran colleges were committed to the liberal arts tradition despite the fact that vocational courses were added, especially in recent years. Pacific Lutheran College, in becoming a university in 1960, still retained the same general approach as the other colleges.

The role of the liberal arts college in the church was summed up in a study by a number of professors, for the most part faculty members at the Evangelical Lutheran

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[51] "Report of the President, Pacific Lutheran College," _Annual Report of the E. L. C., 1945_, Part I, p. 110.

Church colleges, entitled Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts:

> Today the Christian liberal arts college is a very necessary arm of the church in the church's never-ending battle against the secularization of life. The Christian liberal arts colleges of our church are a standing testimony to the church's concern for the best culture of its members, a learning that is to be gained within a true community of scholars with a common mission, and a learning that is integrated within the context of a Christian outlook on life and knowledge. Because cultural expressions are the weapons in the battle of ideas, the church's stake in liberal education is most crucial. The church must see in its liberal arts colleges the essential sphere of its mission in higher education, the place where it can make a contribution impossible in any other kind of higher education.[52]

The same study contained an essay concerned with the curriculum in the Christian liberal arts college. The curriculum must express the objectives implied by the Christian liberal arts colleges with regard to their own philosophy and nature. In so doing it sought to educate "the whole man." Although the goal of the college curriculum was primarily intellectual, it was also planned to contribute to the formation of character. The disciplines of the curriculum were described by Narum as contributing in the following manner to the goal of the college, which is essentially an intellectual one:

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[52] William H. K. Narum, "The Role of the Liberal Arts in Christian Higher Education," Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), p. 32.

1. To form the judgment: by means of the four basic skills...: the logical-linguistic, factual, normative, and synoptic...thus:

    a. To think as clearly as possible
    b. To achieve competence in one's mother tongue and one or more of the other major "languages"
    c. To become competent in accurate factual inquiry about nature and society
    d. To acquire greater sensitivity to moral, esthetic, and religious values
    e. To see relationships between things

2. To understand fundamental truths concerning nature, man, and God. Issuing from these basic skills, and in accord with the nature of knowledge, there are the four basic areas of human knowledge:

    a. Formal knowledge
        (1) Formal thought--logic and mathematics
        (2) Linguistic--languages, semantics, linguistics
    b. Empirical knowledge
        (1) Natural sciences
        (2) Social sciences
    c. Normative knowledge
        (1) The arts
        (2) Art criticism
        (3) Normative disciplines: ethics, esthetics, aspects of the study of religion
    d. Synoptic knowledge
        (1) History
        (2) Philosophy
        (3) Theology[53]

True to the Lutheran tradition, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges emphasized certain parts of the curriculum above others. Illustrative of this were their general education programs. (Table X)

Languages have always been stressed by Lutherans[54]

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[53] Narum, "The Problem of Curriculum," Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts, pp.92-93.

[54] *Supra*, Chapter VI, pp. 170-173 , Chapter VII, *et sqq*.

TABLE X

GENERAL EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS AT NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN COLLEGES

	Augsburg	Augustana	Concordia	Luther	Pacific Lutheran	St. Olaf
Christianity	14	12	12	14	8	14
English	9[a]	9	9	6	9	6-8
Philosophy					3	
Speech	2	4				
Mathematics			3[b]			
History		6		6	6	6[c]
Social science	6[d]	7-9	6	6	9	6
Humanities				4-6[e]		
Natural science	9	6-8	8	6-12[f]	8	4-8
Foreign language	14	14	14	14	14	15
Fine arts	2				3	3
Physical education	2 semesters	4	4 sems.	4 sems.	4[g]	4 sems.
Orientation			required	1 sem.		1 sem.
Total hours	57	61-65	52	56-64	64	56-62[h]
Upper division minimum	30	30	34	40	40	34
Total credits	128	128	128	128	128	128

[a] Of this, three hours may be in literature or philosophy.

[b] Mathematics or philosophy

[c] And/or philosophy

[d] History or sociology

[e] Includes 2 electives from English, philosophy, art, foreign language, music, speech

[f] Mathematics and science

[g] Physical education and health

[h] St. Olaf includes two semesters of required R.O.T.C. class

Source: College catalogs

although not long ago they were being minimized in other colleges and university curricula. It has been a source of satisfaction to Lutheran institutions to witness the resurgence of interest in language study in recent years.

Religion has comprised a large part of the course of study. The average number of required hours in religion and/or Bible has until very recently comprised about one-eighth of the total program.

History, highly regarded by Martin Luther,[55] has been stressed. Partly studied for itself, it has also served as an aid to understanding religious thought and the history of the Christian church.

As a further instance of the influence of Martin Luther, philosophy has played a much less important role in the Norwegian Lutheran college curriculum. Some of the Lutheran uncertainty as to its place was shown by the fact that, even in the elective patterns, there was no uniformity in the assignment of philosophy. (Table X) Only one Norwegian Lutheran college had a requirement in philosophy. This contrasted rather sharply with liberal arts colleges of other denominations. In particular the contrast with Roman Catholic institutions was marked. A typical requirement for philosophy in a Roman Catholic general education curriculum was twelve semester hours.[56]

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[55] _Supra_, Chapter II, p. 53.

The general education requirements did not disclose the very important part that music has played in Norwegian Lutheran colleges. The daily chapel exercises reinforced the Lutheran heritage as part of the singing church. The instrumental and choral groups which often attracted students to the colleges provided a permanent contribution to cultural growth.[57] In many other smaller musical groups for recreation and edification the cultural contribution was repeated.

The introduction of the natural and social sciences into the Norwegian Lutheran college curriculum has been described.[58] Although they arrived later than the other disciplines, they played an integral role in the liberal arts curriculum.

In recent years the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have increased the breadth of their curricular offerings, as has been the rule in colleges generally. In so doing, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have necessarily sacrificed the depth in a relatively few areas of study which characterized the early curricula of these colleges. The innate conservatism of the Norwegian Lutherans slowed this process, however. Their conservative approach to higher education was indicated by J. N. Brown, President of Concordia College, in a report to the church body:

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[56] St. John's University Bulletin (St. Paul: North Central Publishing Co., 1960), p. 18; St. Thomas Bulletin (St. Paul: North Central Publishing Co., 1960), LXXIV (1960), 48.

[57] Supra, Chapter VIII, p. 307.

[58] Supra, Chapter VIII, pp. 258-261.

> Concordia believes that it is the part of wisdom to "make haste slowly" in times of great social upheavals. We must preserve that which has proven to be sound pedagogy and at the same time we must meet the changing needs of the present.[59]

The years following World War II proved to be a time of extreme self-criticism in higher education. Many discussions examined the role of general education and the relative merits of the "core curriculum." Educators searched for a unifying thread with which to weave the strands of college education together. Clemens Granskou of St. Olaf interpreted these discussions as a search for a "center of gravity."

> But what is the center of gravity? Some plans seek the center in a return to classical antiquity. Other plans attempt to broaden the base of education by putting more emphasis on general education and centering the program around a core curriculum. But tinkering with the machinery is not enough, important though it may be to eliminate non-essentials. What education needs is not a new pattern or even a new philosophy. What education needs is a cause, a purpose, a course of action....In this day of critical self-examination Christian higher education need not be apologetic or hesitant. For in the Christian gospel there is an adequate cause to bring order out of riotous

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[59] "Report of the President, Concordia College," _Annual Report of the N. L. C. A._, _1945_, Part I, p. 105.

> growth and give meaning and direction to the educational process....St. Olaf is a community of inspired men and women who are carrying out an active program for the redemption of human society. This is the cause for which St. Olaf exists....This is the mission which guarantees the future.[60]

Theories of Learning and Methodology

For Lutherans, the importance of education on all levels was that of confrontation of the student with the Christian message. In evolving his theories of learning and his methodology, the Lutheran educator turned first to the Scriptures as his central source. Since the major concern lay in achieving the desired end, the Lutheran was free to use any and all methods involved in the learning process. One Lutheran educator expressed the freedom the Lutherans had thus:

> In the matter of theories of learning, the Lutheran Church, which stands four-square on Scripture, is unique in the educational field. The Lutheran teacher makes use of every understanding of the learning process that has been developed. So far as the teaching of the Word, however, the Lutheran teacher acknowledges the existence of a supernatural methodology....
>
> Apart from the supernatural apprehension of divine truth the Christian teacher can make use of all the laws of psychology and all of the findings of science with respect to effective learning. The religious element will, however, have a motivational impact upon every other

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[60] "President's Report, St. Olaf College," Annual Report of the N. L. C. A., 1946, Part I, p. 94.

> part of learning; it will have a selective impact upon what is worthwhile to be learned; and it will have an impact in evaluating or judging between different points of view.[61]

In utilizing theories of learning and in applying methodology, Norwegian Lutherans had the example of Martin Luther to which to turn. Luther advocated simple and natural methods in education. He appealed to teachers to make use of the natural activity and acquisitiveness of young people. Luther sought to make learning pleasant and to adapt methods of instruction to the students' nature. Putting oneself in the students' place was needful. "Christ, in order to train men, must needs become a man himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them."[62] In many respects these insights were strikingly akin to those of modern pedagogical psychology.[63]

Even with the knowledge of Luther's precepts, Norwegian Lutherans tended at first to make limited use of the freedom Luther advocated for them. Leaders of Norwegian Lutheranism stressed the ends to be achieved so much that they often neglected the variety of means possible for their attainment. Modeling their colleges on Latin and German examples, they stressed depth instead of breadth and relied heavily upon memorization, catechization and recitation. The lecture method, which gained such prominence in the latter part of the nineteenth century through German influence,[64] was already a component part of their educational heritage through their experience at the University of Christiania. This method they utilized primarily in the theological studies at the seminary level but employed it on the college level also.

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[61] Arthur L. Miller, "Philosophic Basis of a Lutheran Philosophy of Education," Readings in the Lutheran Philosophy of Education, pp. 47-48. This selection may also be found in Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education, ed. by Joe Park (New York: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 381-382.

[62] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," Works, VI, 176. Quoted supra, Chapter II, p. 50.

[63] Supra, Chapter II, p. 57. Cf. also Wentz, "Lutherans and General Education," pp. 551-552.

The laboratory method and the problem method evolved by American educators to motivate students[65] were adopted by Norwegian Lutheran institutions in part, at least, as a consequence of the impact of Americanization.[66] The motivational aspects were never, however, of as deep concern to Norwegian Lutheran educators as they were to other liberal arts colleges and state-supported institutions. Perhaps this was because the fundamental concern of the former lay in confrontation of the students with the Scriptures and nurture in the faith.[67] For Lutherans this meant that

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[64] John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 85-86.

[65] Ibid., pp. 271-277.

[66] Supra, Chapter VIII

[67] Allan Hart Jahsmann, What's Lutheran in Education (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, [1960], pp. 74-75.

> The Bible asserts very plainly that Christians are made Christians by the Word of God. It is the Word of God that is the instrumentality used by the Holy Spirit in working conversion in the heart of the individual and in developing sanctification. It is then a supernatural process that is outside of the control of the educator....Christians are made Christians not by science, not by education, not by philosophy, but by the power of the Spirit.[68]

Norwegian Lutheran methods and theories of learning, therefore, rested upon the basic acceptance of the role of the Christian educator as a channel for the Word of God and the Holy Spirit. As a corollary, all methods and theories of learning could be used in bringing about the desired end.

Guidance

Norwegian Lutheran colleges, perhaps more than other liberal arts or even church-related colleges in mid-twentieth-century America, continued a paternalistic pattern in their relationships to students. In essence this pattern was similar to that of early American church-related colleges.

Founded primarily as residential preparatory schools and colleges to inculcate specific moral and spiritual values in addition to the education of the intellect,

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[68] Miller, _op_. _cit_., p. 47.

American colleges gradually moved away from this type of paternalism. College populations grew, professors turned their attention to research, church bodies lessened their control on the colleges. Student personnel services came to take the place of counselling by the president and almost all the professors in regard to the physical, social and moral life of the students.[69]

In contrast, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have retained much of the atmosphere of the early American residential college. Paradoxically, the colleges founded by Norwegian immigrants and patterned after European schools were, in the middle of the twentieth century, strangely akin to the "Yankee" schools their founders decried when they came. The presidents were, without exception, pastors; the Bible departments on each campus numbered several more pastors; the faculty generally took an interest in the students' welfare beyond the intellectual; rules for student conduct were generally restrictive. The colleges stood in loco parentis at the behest of parents and alumni themselves.

The colleges had adopted the patterns provided by modern guidance services, including the testing programs, student deans, placement office, health service, housing bureau, student loans, scholarships, and grants-in-aid, counsellors for admissions, veterans affairs, and vocational and academic matters.[70] They sought to view the individual as a whole person in his life on the campus as well as in his intellectual development.

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[69] Brubacher and Rudy, op. cit., pp. 318-323.

At the same time that they made use of the counselling services, however, the Norwegian Lutheran colleges did not acknowledge the concomitant doctrines introduced by modern psychology which tended to believe in the perfectability of man. Any of the theories of modern educational psychology which conflicted with the central Lutheran doctrine of the total depravity of man was, in the final analysis, rejected.

> The doctrine of original sin and human depravity is of primary importance in a Lutheran philosophy of education. All non-Christian systems of education are inadequate because their protagonists are ignorant of original sin and never really understand the nature of the individuals whose education has been entrusted to them. Modern psychology has given us valuable insights into human nature and human behavior, but psychological axioms must constantly be appraised and corrected in consistency with the Scripture doctrine of total depravity. The individual to be educated is harmed rather than helped when the source of his difficulties is sought solely in certain psychological factors and not in the actual fallen condition of his nature.[71]

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[70] Benson, op. cit., pp.328-330.

[71] A. C. Mueller, "The Theological Basis of a Lutheran Philosophy of Education," Reading in the Lutheran Philosophy of Education, pp. 54-55.

In cases of serious breach of discipline and in instances of deep personal problems on the part of a student, the student was usually referred to a pastoral counsellor in addition to his student dean or other counsellor. The president of the college frequently served on a discipline committee or made the final decision concerning the student's welfare.[72]

Lutherans believed deeply that Christian education was necessary in order to educate the whole man. Whenever Christian education was omitted, education was incomplete. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" was a basic principle in their articulation. This point of view was reflected by the wider Protestant educational world:

> If the church colleges can develop the patterns for a vigorous renascence of the life of the mind, the examples they set will surely be contagious. Woodrow Wilson maintained that a true university could not exist apart from Christianity, and I suspect that the dessication of higher learning in our age results in good part from our general loss of the insight and proportion of the Christian faith. Working out from that faith in terms of intellectual excellence, we may revitalize American higher education.[73]

In guidance, then, as elsewhere, for Norwegian Lutherans the confrontation with the Word of God was basic in dealing with students.

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[72] Cf. for example, Luther College Bulletin, Catalog 1960-1962, XL (May, 1960), 33.

[73] Roland Mushat Frye, "The Church College and the Revival of Humane Learning," The Christian Scholar, XL (June 1957), 98.

Toward a Definition

The heritage of Lutheran thought which made the believer his own judge on many matters, spiritual and temporal, contributed to a distrust of philosophical systems. The Bible refers to philosophy only once (Colossians 2:8), and then in a derogatory manner.[74] Lutheranism, rooted in the Bible, took this to mean that any reliance on rational approaches to religion was wrong. Luther's attacks on scholasticism, moreover, left a void still unfilled today.

> One does not need to labor the point that the teaching of philosophy in our colleges is not regarded as having the degree of importance it once assumed in the liberal arts tradition. It suffers by comparison when viewed in relation to other areas in the curriculum....Intimately connected as we are with the Lutheran church, our schools naturally reflect the attitude of the church toward the whole philosophical enterprise. Luther's strictures on philosophy are well known, and in the light of the situation he faced in the academic world of his time, his wholesale condemnation of scholasticism can be understood, if not forgiven. Philosophy in his day had little room for a dynamic and existential confrontation with the revelation. By reducing the Gospel to so many intellectual formulations of the "truths" of the Bible, scholasticism had obscured, if not destroyed, the evangelical basis for an assured faith. Nor did it help when the study of ethics

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[74] "See to it that no one makes a prey of you by philosophy and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, and not according to Christ," Revised Standard Version.

> was pursued, not on an evangelical basis, but on the basis of Aristotle--something that led Luther to think that Aristotle had displaced Christ and the Bible....No wonder Lutherans are skeptical of philosophy when the whole philosophic enterprise from the reformation on has received its motivation from non-Lutheran sources.
>
> Thus, the problem of giving positive emphasis to the study of philosophy in our church colleges is faced with a backlog of historical hindrances. One is often led to feel that too easily Lutherans give way to a mood of despair relative to the intellectual aspects of our cultural setting, and that consequently it has tended to assume only a negative attitude towards any genuine philosophical interest.[75]

A Lutheran philosophy of education rested on the foundation of faith. The Augustinian concept credo ut intelligam[76] (I believe in order that I may understand) was an integral part of Lutheran thought concerning education. The act of faith preceded the defining of a philosophy.

A Lutheran philosophy of education drew from three major sources: the Scriptures, reason, and the findings of science. Of these three, the Scriptures clearly had paramount and final authority.

Norwegian Lutheranism stood between two extremes in regard to Biblical authority. One extreme of Lutheranism would understand the Bible literally. The Bible for this group was the inspired Word of God which must be accepted in its literal entirety. The other extreme would interpret Scripture in a historical setting. The latter view gave, of course, much more latitude and a certain individualism in interpretation.

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[75] Stanley L. Olsen, "Philosophy," Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts, pp. 143-145.

[76] Howard Hong, "What Man Thinks of Man," Ibid., p. 49.

Norwegian Lutherans as a group have tried to stand somewhere between absolute fundamentalism and the historical approach to the Bible. Within Norwegian Lutheranism there have, however, been varying emphases. When driven to a choice between the two extremes, Norwegian Lutherans have usually resorted to fundamentalism.[77]

Central for all Lutherans, however, were the Biblical concepts of God and the sinful nature of man. The Scriptures dealt with all things which were needful for salvation and for the life of man in his relationship to God. This left, however, much latitude for exploration of many realms in which the Bible did not give specific answers. It was here that the findings of reason and science might be utilized.

A statement of the Lutheran philosophy of education would take the preceding axioms into account. It would be defined as that application of philosophy to the problems of education which establishes the practical relevance of Lutheran theology to all fields of human knowledge and endeavor. Theology as revealed in the Bible was paramount for Lutherans and philosophy was its servant.

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[77] _Supra_, Chapter VIII, p. 258.

Metaphysics. The Bible described for Norwegian Lutherans the basic facts of metaphysics. In Scripture was found the key to fundamental understandings of cosmology, the nature of man, the problem of determinism *versus* free will, teleology and ontology. In the realm of what is real the Norwegian Lutherans felt secure because they accepted on faith the revealed Word of God.

Epistemology. Concerning epistemology, the theory of the nature of knowledge the Norwegian again regarded the Bible as the only infallible source. He was therefore primarily concerned with the content of knowledge rather than with the process involved in its achievement. Here the Norwegian Lutheran relied upon authority and was not as fearful of indoctrination as, for example, the progressivists. The Norwegian Lutheran was convinced that he had found the ultimate meanings and had the world view that men needed to fulfill their purpose in life.

Logic. In common with idealistic philosophers, the Norwegian Lutheran depended upon deductive logic. He accepted on faith the reality of the eternal verities. In the realm of science he accepted the inductive scientific approach so long as it did not conflict directly with Scripture. This was because the Lutheran had freedom in matters not explicitly treated of in the Bible. The principles of reason and science were not, however, absolutes in the same sense as the Biblical truths; they were held tentatively.

__Axiology__. In the realm of axiology, or the theory of values, the Bible spoke for Norwegian Lutherans as to what was right and wrong for Christian living. Lutherans took their point of departure from God's love for man and man's resultant love for other men. The primary concern of all Lutherans, as Martin Luther expressed it in the __Small Catechism__, was salvation. "Our chief concern ought to be that we should be saved." Morality and ethics were evolved as a consequence of the gift of salvation; they were not sought as ends in themselves.

> The Lutheran would emphasize the elements of religion rather than the elements of ethics. He will never be satisfied with a system of general education that aims only to make one good; he will insist upon a system that is calculated to reach the heart and save the soul.[78]

Since the Bible stated plainly what was pleasing and what was displeasing to God, the Lutheran's values were determined in relation to God: primarily what served to give glory to God, and secondarily what aided the welfare of mankind.

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[78] Wentz, "Lutherans and General Education," p. 554.

Summary

Norwegian Lutheran colleges, in their objectives and in all the means utilized to implement them, acted from a desire to confront the student with the Christian gospel. Repeated statements by educators and clergymen emphasized the role of higher education first and last as the handmaiden of the Church, preparing Christian men and women for service to the Church and to mankind. The Church kept control of its institutions by a variety of means. The administrator, the teacher and the student acted together as a family in learning and living the Christian faith. Each understood quite thoroughly the role that he should play.

The curriculum, though altered by the American influence from that suggested by Martin Luther, still retained the Christian liberal arts tradition, with much emphasis on religion. Theories of learning and modern educational methods were utilized whenever they did not conflict with Scripture. In the case of guidance techniques, however, Lutherans could not accept any view of man which did not take into account the Biblical concept of the sinfulness of man.

A Lutheran philosophy of education might with justice be called a theology of education because faith and the Scriptures were keys to understanding all aspects of life. In metaphysics, epistemology, logic and axiology the Norwegian Lutheran philosophy was based primarily on the Scriptures.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The study of the problems and philosophy of higher education among American Lutherans of Norwegian extraction was introduced by an investigation of the contributions of Martin Luther to education. The implications of Lutheranism for higher education could best be discerned in the life and work of the founder of Lutheranism. The Reformation was born in a university, and Martin Luther conceived of a complete system of education from the elementary schools through the university. Luther and his followers have been agreed; the place of education was next in importance to the Church for mankind.

Luther saw education as essential for salvation. The primary function of education was to confront men with the revealed truths of the Bible, so that the Holy Spirit could then work in the individual for his salvation.

The reformer wrote often about education. Primarily, however, three treatises were devoted to the discussion of education.

In the "Open Letter to the Christian Nobility" Luther made suggestions for the reform of the universities and rejected the abuses of the Roman Catholic church, especially its admiration for Aristotle and use of secondary sources to study the Bible.

In the letter "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools" Luther made a strong plea for public support of education and universal education for civic responsibility. He formulated a broad program for the education of both sexes. Luther's idea of education was not that of the cultivated man, the theory of the Humanists, but that of the civic man, placed in society to serve his fellow men.

The third treatise, "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School", re-emphasized the need for universal education for the service of the state as well as for the ministry.

Luther's comprehensive plan for education from elementary to university level was to begin with the Christian education given the young by their parents at home. Luther proceeded to offer a program for the Latin schools, utilizing the vernacular and teaching languages as tools for reading the Bible. On the university level, Luther rejected the study of philosophy and urged the intensive study of languages and history.

Luther's methodology and curriculum were inspired by Scripture but showed marked kinship with modern methods. His approach to teaching was direct and simple, indicating understanding of the nature of the young. Some new elements were added to the classical curriculum. In particular these were music, gymnastics and vocational education.

Luther, then, made great changes in education. Education was fundamental for both church and state. His emphasis on language study was accompanied by a distrust for philosophy. Teaching and the role of the teacher were extolled. Luther deserved a place as one of history's outstanding educators and influenced Protestant educational thought for centuries.

The nineteenth-century milieu in Norway from which the Lutheran immigrants came to America was investigated. Norway, the inheritor of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, underwent at mid-nineteenth century a recovery of the sense of its national heritage. While democracy was gaining ascendancy, the educated classes, including the clergy, represented an intellectual aristocracy. Class positions were intrenched, and the farmers, though far outnumbering the aristocracy, had little opportunity in Norway. Religious lines were drawn. Pietism, represented by the revivals led variously by Hans Nielsen Hauge and Gisle Johnson, had influenced much of the population. Among the lay people Hauge had made many converts. Gisle Johnson influenced many of the theological students at the University of Christiania (Oslo). Pietism contended with rationalism, which had invaded the ranks of the clergy in the State Church.

In education the Latin School of Norway contained the rigorous classical curriculum which prepared candidates for the university. Divided into the traditional four faculties, the university curriculum required intense reading of sources as well as attendance at lectures for a period of five to seven years before a candidate took the examinations for the degree of *cand*. *philol*., *cand*. *jur*., *cand*. *med*. or *cand*. *theol*. Theological students who emigrated to America in the latter part of the nineteenth century took with them their own educational experience as they pioneered in the New World.

It was not, however, the clergy who emigrated in the greatest numbers. The vast majority of the immigrants to America were farmers, both tenant farmers (*husmenn*) and farm owners (bønder), who found economic conditions difficult in the homeland and looked to the New World for improvement of their lot. Their migration was opposed by the intelligentsia, the clergy and the upper classes as almost treasonable. Although they were criticized by the clergy and the church, the immigrants nevertheless remained Lutheran and were quite ready to follow the leadership of representatives of the Norwegian church.

Three different emphases within Lutheranism were evident among three leaders who came to minister to the Norwegian settlers. In Elling Eielsen were found the fruits of the Haugean revival and lay piety. Eielsen mistrusted the State Church of Norway and the emphasis upon classical education which its clergy represented. Eielsen at length saw the need of training for the ministry and was instrumental in founding several educational institutions. Of these the most successful was Red Wing Seminary (1879), which trained men for the ministry and gave a Christian general education to others. Its program lacked the classical emphasis found in the Latin School of Norway and illustrated the fear of intellectualism latent in the pietist wing of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

Spokesman for the "middle way" between high and low church attitudes was C. L. Clausen. As a leader who saw virtues in both approaches, he vacillated between the two. He confessed some of Eielsen's low church sympathies without having the Haugeans' fear of intellectual pursuits. Clausen was one of the founders of Luther College (1861), patterned on the high-church educational institutions in Norway. At the same time he was active as a founder of the Lutheran Education Society, whose purpose it was to make a place for Norwegian educators in American colleges. Clausen co-operated in this manner with American sympathizers and agitated for less Norwegian isolationism.

J. W. C. Dietrichson, on the other hand, sought to establish the authority of the Church of Norway in America among Norwegian immigrants. Dietrichson, who had received his theological training at the University of Christiania, was among the first of the intelligentsia to arrive from Norway. A man of great administrative ability, Dietrichson organized many congregations on the midwestern frontier. Although he did not actually participate in the founding of institutions of higher learning, he re-emphasized for the Norwegian immigrants the importance of the ministry and the necessity of formal theological studies. With his ability, however, was coupled an unfortunate authoritarianism. Dietrichson's high-handed ways were painfully reminiscent of church dominance in the homeland, and his stay in America was shortened by his ensuing unpopularity.

Before he returned to Norway, however, Dietrichson drafted a constitution for the Norwegian church which served as the model for the high-church Norwegian Synod.

Soon after Dietrichson returned to Norway, representatives of the high-church approach established the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, or the Norwegian Synod. One of the first problems for the new church was to find a way of training its clergy. Since the Norwegians were unable to get enough men from the mother church and too poor to establish their own seminary, they looked about at other Lutheran institutions and turned to the German Lutherans in Missouri. At Concordia College in St. Louis the Missouri Synod had established a seminary whose program and piety were similar to that found by the Norwegian leaders at the University of Christiania. The familiarity with this type of Christianity and sympathy with Missourians prompted the Norwegians to seek guidance from the Missouri Synod leaders in questions of the day as well as in theology.

One of the most pressing problems of the times was that of slavery. The Synod clergy dealt with the matter in a theoretical manner and followed the lead of the Missouri Lutherans in defending slavery on theological grounds. Their view was not shared by the democratic laity,who had Northern sympathies. A bitter controversy within Norwegian circles ensued.

Another major problem for Norwegian Lutherans was the common or public school issue. The Synod leaders envisioned a complete Lutheran educational system and organized parochial schools in the congregations. Here again their leadership was questioned by the laity, who regarded the common school as a means of finding acceptance and getting ahead in the American environment. Some of the more liberal Synod clergy, as well as those not affiliated with the Synod, also defended the common school. Among them C. L. Clausen and a later arrival, Georg Sverdrup, eloquently defended the cause of the common school against the frequent and bitter attacks of the Synod pastors.

The vehicle for these controversies involving clergy and laity was the Norwegian-American press. The editors of the Norwegian-language papers generally allied themselves with one or another faction. Two of the leading newspapers, Skandinaven and Fædrelandet og emigranten, fanned the flames of the slavery and common school controversies and addressed themselves also to other public issues such as politics, temperance and social reform.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Norwegian Lutherans were forced to depend upon themselves for higher education and ministerial training. The Synod leaders established Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, in 1861. The first president was Laur. Larsen, who had taught the Norwegian seminarians in St. Louis. Larsen patterned the new college after the Latin School in Norway and the college in St. Louis. It was designed to give a thorough classical education as a preparation for theological studies. The curriculum was narrow and intensive, the chief emphases being upon six different languages, religion, and history.

President Larsen traveled in 1866 to a number of American institutions in the Midwest, where he examined the curriculum and conditions. He returned to Luther College reassured as to the superiority of his own institution and dismissed much of what he had seen in American education as "Yankee humbug".

For many years Luther College continued to model itself after Norwegian patterns in education. It drew from Norway and from its own alumni for faculty. The Norwegian Synod exercised firm control of its educational institution, and the president served in many capacities during the early decades. Despite the conservatism of the Synod leaders in all things Norwegian and Lutheran, the American influence was increasingly felt.

Augsburg College and Theological Seminary, founded in 1869, brought a new approach and philosophy in Norwegian Lutheran institutions. Its leaders, Georg Sverdrup and Sven Oftedal, though trained in theology at the University of Christiania, could not agree in theology or educational philosophy with Synod clergy. On the other hand, they were not of the same persuasion as the low-church Hauge's Synod. The institution they guided became a third factor in Norwegian Lutheran education in America. Sverdrup and Oftedal consciously tried to replace the Latin School pattern, which they found tyrannical and scholastic, with a "Greek School", stressing the study of languages for the practical use of opening the Scriptures. They saw their educational institution as a replica of the congregational life, integrating the academy, the college and the seminary. In so doing, they gave force to the idea of the "free" congregation, not directed by a sterile ecclesiastical hierarchy but dedicated to "living Christianity".

In their educational plan Sverdrup and Oftedal also envisaged a "scientific" or "practical" department of the college which would stress mathematics and more practical subjects. This unfortunately remained on paper only, as church controversy and schism prevented their effecting more than the training of pastors.

The first school founded by Norwegian Lutherans not designed primarily for the preparatory training of ministers was St. Olaf College, begun in 1874. The unique mission of the school lay in preparing students for other fields than the ministry and teaching. From the first, St. Olaf College adopted some educational procedures and methods which were typically American, including coeducation and the elective system. The attention to studies other than the traditional classical and theological pursuits brought the charge of humanism from certain elements of the church, but St. Olaf continued to strengthen its liberal arts program. Founded later than either Luther or Augsburg, St. Olaf grew rapidly and soon outstripped both the others in size and facilities.

Three other institutions of higher education that were established by Norwegian Lutherans and have endured to the present were Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, and Pacific Lutheran University, Parkland, Washington. These three institutions became four-year liberal arts colleges much later than the original three and thus contributed few new approaches to Lutheran educational philosophy.

In spite of the conservatism and isolationist tendencies of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, Americanization came about in the colleges under a variety of guises. The reluctant adoption of English as the first language heralded later changes. Augsburg and Luther, established as men's colleges, eventually but somewhat ungraciously adopted coeducation. American Puritanism, reinforced by Norwegian pietism, became a part of the atmosphere at the colleges.

Science had been a very insignificant part of the original curricula in Norwegian Lutheran institutions. The adoption of science into the program marked a milestone in Lutheran progress towards becoming American. Similarly, social sciences, though not a part of the original course of study, were introduced late because of the theological emphasis at the colleges.

As the curriculum changed, it demanded faculty trained in areas beyond the province of the Norwegian Lutheran institutions. Thus, not only were new courses of study to be found, but also they required new faculty to teach them.

When the supporters of the colleges demanded teachers for the parochial and public schools, the

Norwegian Lutheran colleges adopted the program, methodology, and graduates of American institutions for teacher training. In psychology and pedagogy the principles and procedures of twentieth-century American education were frequently accepted uncritically.

Entry into the American scene meant expansion of the curriculum to prepare students in a number of professional and pre-professional fields. The controversy over the question of vocationalism *versus* the liberal arts continued, though the Norwegian Lutheran colleges sought to be all things to their constituents. Accreditation meant for the colleges adoption of certain practices not characteristic of their own approach and further indicated the desire on their part to conform to American standards.

World Wars I and II hastened the contacts of Lutheran colleges with America and made isolation impossible. Returning veterans demanded changes in conformity with their experiences in the outside world. After World War II especially, growth of Norwegian Lutheran colleges exceeded facilities. In consequence, colleges launched building projects, employed enlarged administrative and development staffs, and became "big business".

Among the most potent forces that brought about Americanization were the students themselves. Student-initiated groups brought about many changes in curriculum. Faculty and administration, too, brought new currents of thought and patterns of action as they became associated with other schools in their professional lives.

Though integration into the larger American life was a powerful force, the ties of Lutheranism exerted strong pressures. Through a variety of associations with other Lutherans, especially in the realm of education, Norwegian Lutherans sought to understand and reinforce their role. Tangible evidences of this urge toward Lutheran solidarity were proposals advanced for a Lutheran university. The Lutheran university remained a dream, but one Norwegian Lutheran institution, Pacific Lutheran College, became in 1960 a small university.

Lutheran philosophy of education could with justice be called a theology of education. Norwegian Lutherans have been conservative, provincial, slow to adjust to the American environment. Nevertheless, they have adopted much and, at mid-twentieth-century, were similar in external structure and program to other American institutions. Their outlook, however, continued to reflect their role as church colleges. In a hundred years the central aim remained constant: that of giving young Lutherans a Christian liberal education with special emphasis on the ministry and Christian service. The roles of all the participants in a college, the administrator, the faculty, and the students, remained the same. The colleges were committed to the liberal arts tradition of education of the whole man. Within the bounds of faith Lutherans had freedom to utilize theories of learning, methodology and principles of guidance which did not conflict with Biblical revelation.

The task of the Norwegian Lutheran institutions of higher education has been to assume leadership in the difficult transition which was to bring an immigrant people into full participation in American life. The way has been long and sometimes difficult, and the end is not yet in sight. The late L. W. Boe, President of St. Olaf College, stated this as "the unfinished task" in an essay which remains true today:

> Ours is a mediating generation. By training and tradition we live in the spiritual and cultural land of the fathers. With our children we are steadily marching into the land of tomorrow. Ours is the riches of two cultures and often the poverty of the desert wanderer. We live between memory and reality. Ours is the agony of a divided loyalty and joy in the discovery of a new unity. Like Moses of old we see the new but cannot fully enter in. To us has been given the task of mediating a culture,

> of preserving and transferring to our children in a new land the cultural and spiritual values bound up in the character, art, music, literature, and Christian faith of a generation no longer found even in the land from which the fathers came.
>
> In so far as these values have been preserved in a Norwegian atmosphere and in the Norwegian language it has been in the form they had when brought over. When released in the language and genius of America they have again become sources of inspiration and power, and in the hearts and minds of a far greater number than our own flesh and blood. Ours is the privilege of releasing for America values that sustained the spirit and life of our forebears for generations. We must become conscious of our responsibility. If we pass on without opening the treasure chest, it will not be done. Our obligation is to translate in the largest sense and to carry over.[1]

Conclusions

1. Norwegian Lutheran interest in education. Norwegian Lutherans from their earliest days in America had a deep interest in education. This was shown by the fact that they established schools on elementary, secondary and college levels almost immediately upon their arrival. The concentration of this Lutheran group has, furthermore, been on the liberal arts college, and these institutions have endured. At mid-twentieth century the concerted effort to maintain a Lutheran influence in education was almost

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[1] Hetle, op. cit., p. 166.

entirely limited to the college level.

Norwegian Lutherans have been uncompromising in maintaining high academic standards throughout the hundred-year history of their educational enterprise. At first they felt the superiority of the Norwegian educational system they adopted. Gradually the American environment made inroads upon the educational program without, however, changing the basic aim.

2. Continuing Lutheran emphasis. Uniformity of purpose distinguishes Norwegian Lutheran higher education. The consistent objective has been to give Lutheran students a thorough Christian liberal arts education. The institutions existed to support and provide leadership for the Norwegian Lutheran Church. To a high degree this has meant the training of prospective pastors and teachers.

The Norwegian Lutheran Church has retained strong control of its colleges. Innate conservatism has tended to resist change, and isolationism has checked the impact of Norwegian Lutheranism upon the general American culture.

3. Contributions to the American scene. Despite Norwegian Lutheranism's separatist tendencies,

the Norwegian Lutheran colleges have made some real contributions to the American educational scene. Among these should be listed their zeal for scholarship and thorough training at a time when American education in the Midwest was generally at an unsophisticated stage of development.

The emphasis upon language has been continued since the founding of the colleges, even though language study fell into disfavor at a certain period in American education. The Lutheran musical tradition also did much to enrich the curriculum and improve the tastes of American secondary and higher education.

4. Lutheran distrust of philosophy. Norwegian Lutheran institutions have followed closely the theology of Martin Luther and have to a large degree inherited his distrust of philosophy. Even the curricula of the present day colleges show an ambivalence and confusion regarding the place of philosophy in general education. Only recently has a concerted effort been inaugurated among Norwegian Lutheran educators to attempt to formulate a clear concept of a Lutheran philosophy of education.

Recommendations

1. College histories in English. Histories of each of the separate colleges should be written in English. This is particularly pertinent for the colleges now because the Norwegian Lutheran church bodies have merged or ar considering merger with churches of other European backgrounds into a united Lutheran body, The American Lutheran Church. The separate merging bodies should also examine carefully their particular emphasis and character.

The urgency of making historical material available in English is recognized because it may become increasingly difficult to find historians with bilingual capabilities. Much of the source material is found only in Norwegian.

2. Continued study of Lutheran philosophy of education. Greater emphasis upon study to determine the nature of a Lutheran philosophy of education is needed. Continued study of this problem is essential if Lutherans seek to go beyond their immediate circle.

The place of philosophy in the general education curriculum should be determined. It is generally recognized that philosophy constitutes an integral part of a liberal education. Norwegian Lutherans have consistently neglected to recognize this, because of their historical distrust of philosophy.

3. Re-evaluation of Martin Luther and pedagogy. More attention should be given to the implications of Lutheranism for pedagogy. Lutherans have consistently looked to Luther for their theology but have often overlooked the fact that he was an educator of first rank. Much in methodology and outlook that is common practice in modern education was anticipated by Luther, although Lutherans have usually learned these matters from others. It is an anachronism that many college generations of Lutherans have become acquainted with John Dewey and other modern educational leaders but have remained relatively unacquainted with the educational thought of Martin Luther.

Lutherans generally should re-evaluate Luther as an educator. Such investigations could be a starting place for developing a clearer Lutheran outlook in education as well as for making a Lutheran contribution to the wider world of education.

4. Investigation of all levels of Lutheran education. A systematic and careful investigation of Lutheran education on elementary, secondary, college

and university levels is needed. The newly-formed American Lutheran Church should reconsider carefully whether it can and should develop a Lutheran university or universities. Graduate training and research are needed in order that Lutherans may make their influence felt in the wider field of scholarship. Elementary and secondary schools have not been an important factor in Norwegian Lutheranism during recent years. There seems to be some resurgence of interest, however. Again this matter should be carefully considered as it relates to the whole pattern of Lutheran education.

5. *Re-examination of present practices.* Many practices found in the colleges at present should be questioned and re-examined. One of these is the custom of naming a college president from the ranks of the clergy. It would be advisable to insist upon adequate training in education and administration before the Church thrusts an inidvidual into such a difficult and responsible position.

A second common practice is that of adding to the faculty roster primarily from alumni of the college itself and from sister Lutheran colleges. Enlarging the faculty with more scholars having broader backgrounds would undoubtedly enrich and strengthen the

Norwegian Lutheran colleges. Lutherans who have been graduated from state universities have often been overlooked by the Norwegian Lutheran colleges. The practice of denying tenure to non-Lutherans, found in one college, is open to serious question.

Third, Lutherans have prided themselves on the quality of their teaching and the place that they have given to teaching. Unfortunately this practiceehas left little time for needed independent research on the part of the faculty. The Norwegian Lutheran colleges should give serious consideration to enabling faculty to do systematic research as well as to teach. There is room on the undergraduate level, as well as on the university level, for independent research.

A fourth factor for re-examination is the needless competition between the Norwegian Lutheran colleges for students, faculty, and sometimes financial support. Especially those midwestern colleges which are located in close proximity to each other have suffered from this dilemma. The purposes of Lutheran education might better be served if the various synods would support the educational institutions on the basis of geographical location rather than exclusively on the basis of synodical affiliation.

6. Church-state relations. The Lutheran

church must study and be prepared for the problem of democratization of higher education. Federal and state government has increasingly entered into higher education, formerly the domain of the private and church-related colleges. In 1960 sixty-four per cent of all college students were in public institutions of higher education, and the prediction is that by 1979 eighty per cent of all college students will be enrolled in public institutions. Faced with such statistics and with rising student costs, and confronted by greatly increased enrollments in both public and private institutions, Lutheran colleges will need to consider new sources of support. Included in this problem also is the question of the nature of the separation of church and state. Especially must this be studied in regard to the colleges' acceptance of federal aid in the form of loans, grants, subsidies and scholarships. Whether the American principle of the separation of church and state would be imperiled by federal aid to church-related colleges is a major issue upon which Lutheran colleges will have to take a stand.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

CATALOG
FOR THE NORWEGIAN
LUTHER-COLLEGE

I. History

(omitted)

II. The Plan of Instruction

Now that we shall consider the school's plan of instruction, we must first call to mind what is the chief purpose of the school's foundation, namely, to educate men who are qualified to serve the Norwegian Lutheran Church in this country as pastors and teachers. But, moreover, the school esteems it of the greatest importance to be able to admit as many other young men as possible and provide them with a good Christian education which can make them worthy and capable members as well of the community as of the Church. However, the latter aim is subordinated to the former, and it is clear that the instruction must be arranged in such a manner as is necessary for the sake of the future pastors and teachers.

But how then shall it be adapted for these? Every one who is a little acquainted with such things in Norway knows that those who wished to be pastors and those who wished to be teachers did not get their training at the same school. The latter went to a teacher-training institution, where they completed their training in two years; the former went first for 6-8 years to a Latin School, and thereupon came to the University in Christiania, where it took them about 5 years to complete their work. When now these two kinds of instruction shall be combined in one school, then it must either happen that they are quite separated from one another and only have living quarters and other externals in common, or that the students preparing to be teachers shall study in common with the youngest Latin School classes in some courses and receive special instruction in others, which in their future positions are especially necessary for them. And it is in this latter way that we have arranged it. In the three lowest classes all the students study all the courses together, with the exception of Latin and Greek; in the place of these languages there is special instruction for the teacher-training students in the practical knowledge which is necessary for teachers, besides which they learn more religion and more English. But principally our school remains a Latin School, roughly corresponding to those our ministers in Norway had to go through before they came as students to the University. It is therefore reckoned as a six-year course, after which length of time the students should be prepared to enter the Missouri Synod's seminary in St. Louis, where, after a course of about three years, they should have the degree of theological candidate, that is, prepared to enter into the ministerial office.

Therefore you must see, dear reader, our reckoning is that he who desires to be a pastor among us must study for nine years. But, you may ask, is not that altogether too much? Here in this country, where everything moves so quickly, could not a shorter time be sufficient? I will answer by first reminding you about how long a time one must spend in Norway in order to be a preacher. The writer of these lines studied for 13 years at the Latin School and the University, and that was not an uncommonly long time; there was so much to learn that one could not finish it any more quickly. And I should like to know whether a minister in America should need less knowledge than in Norway? Here he must strive with sects of all kinds; here everything must be put in order from the ground up, here it is that when he has first entered into his office there is so much to do that he can no longer find time to continue his studies. All this seems at first glance to make it reasonable that he who here wants to prepare himself to be a pastor should require greater capability and therefore more time to study than in Norway, and in reality it is only the students' greater age and maturity, and by means of great industry and also because of the need to eliminate some of the prerequisites that we are prepared to make the course as short as it is.

Let us examine a little more closely what our students should learn in the six years here, and it will not be so difficult to understand that they must use the time well in order to manage it, while on the other hand it would be rather difficult to show that any of this knowledge would be superfluous. As the chief subject must first and foremost be named the ancient languages, and among them chiefly Latin, whereby also such schools in Norway have gotten the name Latin Schools, while the Germans call them "gymnasia" and the Americans call it "colleges". Latin should be learned so well that the students, when they have completed the school, should be able to read Latin books without difficulty and write the language fairly correctly so that, when they come to St. Louis, they can quickly become accustomed to understanding lectures in Latin and to speaking the language in the examination. So much Greek should be learned that the students can read the New Testament in this, its original language, with ease and sureness. Of Hebrew, so much that they with diligence and work can understand the Old Testament's original language. Here it must also be taken into consideration that these ancient languages are far more difficult than any of the newer ones, so that these together will take up almost half of the time in these six years. In the remaining time they shall first learn to speak and write Norwegian correctly and with skill, which here in this country is much more difficult than in Norway. Moreover, English and German shall be learned so well that the students in any case later would soon acquire the ability to use these languages in speaking and writing when it is necessary. They should, in addition, learn geography, and not only that of America but also that of the rest of the world; they should get a rather complete overview of world history; of mathematics they should learn arithmetic, algebra, and geometry; they should also learn some natural science; and finally--at the last comes the most important--they shall acquire a basic and thorough knowledge of Christianity.

Now if all of these things shall be learned with old-fashioned and old Norwegian thoroughness, I should like to know then whether six years would be too long a time? Obviously not. It is the aim of the instruction that in the first place, the memory, the ability to think, and all the intellectual powers therewith shall be strengthened and developed, and next, that that which is learned shall be retained, so that later it can be put to use; and in order to attain this it is obviously necessary to study thoroughly. But, someone will perhaps ask, is it then really necessary to know all these things? Has one later in life any use for these things, any good from them? Especially these old dead languages seem to be rather superfluous. Yes, unfortunately there are in our days many who think thus, and these thoughts become more and more widespread. Therefore we would like to dwell a little longer on this point and briefly seek to show why the old languages not only must be learned, but also with proper justice must be our school's chief subject.

When Christianity was proclaimed over the whole world by the apostles, the Roman dominion and the Greek culture were spread over almost all the nations which have had any significance in the history of the world. The Romans had, by means of power, perseverance and valor in war and in statesmanship, shown themselves superior to any other people up to that time; they had even subjugated the people whose culture had attained the highest rung, namely, the Greeks; but not before this culture, since Alexander the Great's conquests, in 2-300 years had had time to spread over and establish itself in all the eastern lands, which earlier had achieved the first place in the world's history. Yes, the Romans themselves, although they were the conquerors of the Greeks by outward weapons, let themselves be conquered in cultural affairs by the conquered and soon acclaimed it the greatest honor to acquire the Greek culture. By the Roman weapons the Latin language became known over nearly the whole world, and the Greek language likewise more and more, where it had not already been. Therefore the New Testament was written in the Greek language and in that language the Gospel was primarily preached in the beginning, but soon thereafter just as much in the Latin language.

In addition to the fact that these languages were at this time so widespread, there is another thing to be considered. These people were revealed by God as destined to show how far mankind, spared by God and without the true knowledge of God, could come; they were more gifted and achieved a higher stage of culture than any other people. But no matter how far they came, it became apparent through them how blind and foolish men are, when they by their own strength will try to seek God; and their religion more and more sank down to the most ridiculous madness, while their moral depravity became greater and greater. Just when culture was the highest but also when the religious bewilderment and moral corruption were the greatest, then light from on high appeared. The Gospel came and penetrated with its purifying power through the darkness and corruption. But no matter how it destroyed and condemned, it also appropriated and used the culture and the education which it found. The Roman-Greek culture became the soil where the seed of the Word was first sown; all that was worldly which God took into His service with this His great deed, to spread abroad the Saviour's message, belonged to this age, sprang forth from it, adjusted and adapted to it; it was under these circumstances and conditions that the apostles had to work. The Roman-Greek way of thought and conception was theirs, provided that they did not strive against God's Word. Should it not then be important for us to become acquainted with these times and these languages? How much even the New Testament would be unintelligible to us, or in any event less clear, if we lacked this knowledge? Even though not all Christians can be on intimate terms with the ancient Greek and Roman world, it is nevertheless necessary that some are, so that they by this gift can serve their brothers and by means of this they can give these studies a light from the Scriptures with which they otherwise would have to dispense.

Also the history of the times that followed is a testimony to the truth of this. Savage barbarians destroyed the Roman might about 4-500 years after Christ's birth, then they also, like the Romans and Greeks before them, were conquered by the Roman culture and Christianity; they founded new Christian nations on the ruins of the old world. Decadence had before this time taken the upper hand. Therefore there was not much to save, and the new barbarians were strong and less corrupted people of nature. But though there remained little of the old culture, which these new people really made their own cultural possession, we find that coarseness and barbarianism held the upper hand, and that throughout the Middle Ages there was a dense cultural darkness, in which the Papacy was dominant and thrived admirably. Just a little remnant of the old Roman Empire in all this time remained in and around Constantinople. But in 1453 this also fell to the sword of the Turks, and these arch-enemies of Christianity soon threatened West Europe. While darkness and destruction were at their height, the power of the Pope had fortunately brought to naught all attempts to bring about any betterment in the Church, and no one seemed to be able to withstand Anti-Christ. But then it was revealed that just that which in the eyes of mankind was a loss, in God's wonderful management of the world was destined to be a victory. In Constantinople's remote corner the Old World's culture was preserved; there still were found and read the old Greek and Roman Scriptures, there these ancient languages were cultivated. But when this last place was also disturbed, the learned men were dispersed over the Western lands with their knowledge and their books. When the art of printing was developed at this same time one had simultaneously both a new knowledge and the most powerful means of providing for its dissemination, and in the century before the Reformation, when conditions were at their worst in the Church, these classical studies, as they were called, were becoming more and more common in Europe.

But what benefit could the Church derive therefrom? What significance did this renaissance of learning have for the householders in God's Kingdom? We will answer: About the same that these languages and this culture had at the time of Christianity's entry into the world. Or we would rather use Luther's words and hear, how he puts both side by side. "At the same time," he says, "that God allowed the Gospel to come to the whole world through the apostles, He gave the languages for this purpose. And He had as a preparation, by means of the Roman legions, spread the Greek and Latin languages so widely throughout all lands that His Gospel would soon bring forth fruit far and wide. So He has also done now. No one has known why God allowed the languages to come forth, until one now sees for the first time that it has happened for the sake of the Gospel that He wished to reveal thereafter, and thereby expose and destroy the regiments of Anti-Christ. Therefore He delivered the land of Greece to the hands of the Turks, in order that the Greeks, harried and dispersed, should spread the Greek language and thereby also make a beginning in learning other languages." (__Lutheran__ __Folk__ __Library__, vol. 2, pp. 203 and 204)[1] And further on he says: "Therefore it is evident that, where knowledge of the languages is not maintained, there the Gospel at last must disappear. This experience has revealed and reveals still, that as quickly as the knowledge of the languages disappeared after the time of the Apostles, the Gospel and true faith declined, and the whole of Christianity more and more, until it was quite degenerate under the Pope; and after the languages were forgotten, Christianity did not accomplish anything very outstanding, but by ignorance of the languages many horrible abominations occurred. In the same way, inversely: because languages now have come into their own, they bring such a light with them and accomplish such great things that we have the Gospel quite as pure and unadulterated as the apostles had it, and that it has entirely returned to its original purity and is far more unadulterated than it was during St. Jerome's or Augustine's time." (__Ibid__., pp. 205 and 206) And of himself and his work he says: "I would have accomplished nothing if the languages had not aided me and made me certain of the Scriptures. I could well have been pious and preached correctly; but the Pope and the Sophists and all the regiments of Anti-Christ I would have had to leave unmolested as they were." (Ibid., pp. 210-211)

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[1] [Larsen referred here to a popular edition of Luther's works available to Norwegian-Americans. The quotations are taken from Luther's "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools". See above, Chapter II]

Thus we see that Luther regards the study of these ancient languages so important that he believes that without them he would never have been a Reformer. Yes, there certainly would not have been any mighty Reformation in the Church if this knowledge had not again been called into being.

Moreover, if our readers would read through the blessed work of his whereof we have just given some selections, then they will find, that he also talks of the Hebrew language. In order to show the importance of this also, the third of the ancient languages we study, we merely have to remember that it is in this language that God has allowed the Old Testament to be written. It must of course be of the greatest importance with this, as with the New Testament, to understand the exact self-same words that the Holy Spirit has used in His utterances to mankind, and to know the people and the times in which this part of God's Word was written.

But yet one other reason Luther gives for studying languages, and this also is of great importance to us. "Yes," he says, "if we do (which God forbid) let the languages go, we would not alone lose the Gospel, but we would also come to the point that we neither could speak nor write Latin or German correctly. Let us take as proof and as warning the sad and horrible example from the universities and cloisters, where they not only have forgotten the Gospel but they have corrupted the German language, so that the poor people have almost become utter beasts and cannot really either speak or write either German or Latin and have almost lost their natural reason." (Ibid., pp. 204-205). We should here remember that during all of the Middle Ages Latin was the language which, in all Western Europe, in all public as well as church matters, was used both in writing and in speech; it was a legacy to Christianity from the vanquished Romans; but as it more and more was perverted under the Papacy, it was corrupted to such a degree that at last it was hardly to be recognized. And thereupon there followed, says Luther, a corresponding lack of knowledge in the mother tongue as well, and in other kinds of knowledge, yes, a complete relaxation of all the powers of the intellect, so that people lost even their natural understanding and became utter beasts. When these ancient peoples really achieved the highest intellectual attainments and culture which mankind could reach without the light of God's Word, then it is natural enough, that the study of their life and work and especially of their language as that realm where their spirit has revealed itself the most, must be the best means also for the coming generations to develop their intellectual powers, and at the opportunity to take advantage of this means must find its own cure by returning to true spiritual capability. The experience of all ages has clearly shown, before as well as after Luther's time, that nothing contributes more toward developing and educating the powers of the mind than just these classical studies, and therefore they are also of the greatest importance, not only in the service of the Church, but just as much for those who intend to enter into those worldly positions where a higher education is required.

In this way, then, we have a foundation whereby the study of the languages is so important, and this is the reason whereby at our college also they must be studied so much, as shall happen according to our plan. In proportion to the matter's importance we have no doubt dealt only with the chief features, but in proportion to this essay, quite at length. Our chief reason for this has been that we would like very much that the members of our congregations should get a more complete insight into this matter than is ordinarily the case with the majority, especially even of those who should understand it better.

In return, we know that the greater part of our plan of instruction was composed in greater brevity.*

That our students must learn the Norwegian language as well as possible, is made clear by the fact that this language both now at present and undoubtedly for some time in the future will be used in the church service everywhere, or at least at the majority of places among us. Only a few of our countrymen yet understand an English sermon or a more scholarly writing in English, and although they show a praiseworthy eagerness to learn the country's language, nevertheless it seems that the Norwegian nationality and the Norwegian language have attained an honor and worthiness more in these latter times than they did some years ago, when everyone who wanted to be something our of the ordinary among the Norwegians here, saw it as necessary to be ashamed of everything which reminded them of the old fatherland.

That our students here must learn the German language reasonably well is not difficult to understand when we remember that they will receive their real theological education at the German seminary and later, as ministers, come in constant contact with the German Lutherans.

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* This essay was actually written for Kirkelig Maanedstidende and appeared there in No. 7 for 1868. But since this school catalog is primarily meant for the same readers, in that it especially has as its purpose to make the members of our congregations acquainted with everything which there concerns our institution, we have believed that we could use the same essay practically unchanged, so much the more as it already is so old, and Maanedstidende had then so many fewer readers that this will no doubt be like new for the majority.

Moreover, German is that language where--besides the Latin--the most and the best theological and religious writings both are and will be written.

That geography and history are necessary subjects, there naturally can be only one opinion about. Every educated man must learn to know the earth's topography and the life of mankind and its destiny in the bygone centuries; yes, for a Christian and for a pastor even more than for the majority is it important to see how God has guided the world's events, so that everything must serve the furtherance of His Kingdom on earth.

Mathematics is a subject which, to a great degree, develops reasoning and also is of great benefit in practical life. Moreover, in this country a great deal of weight is attached to this study, and when we have set for ourselves the goal of learning about as much as the Latin Schools of Norway, then this can certainly never be called too much.

Natural science in this country is also given much attention, and it is then also clear that an enlightened man ought to have some acquaintance with the most important things which belong to nature, especially to the animal and plant world. A Christian will also see there the revelation of God's power and wisdom.

And when we finally come to that which in all our deeds we wish to place first, namely, knowledge about Christianity, then there can scarcely be any serious member of our Christian community who will not rejoice to hear that in this we give about double as much instruction as was usually the case at the Latin Schools in Norway. We first read in the two lowest classes Pontoppidan's Explanation twice, in part from the unabridged edition, Truth Unto Godliness, in part from selections, but with many more Bible references than are found mentioned in the book, and besides this we read the historical books of the Bible. Thereafter in the middle classes we use a detailed German explanation of the Catechism by the well-known Conrad Dietrich, and finally in the upper classes Leonhard Hutter's Compend of Lutheran Theology in English, as well as a part of the New Testament in Greek, which is translated into Latin.

But one subject we have not said anything about, and that is the English language. In this we wish to give the students a good and well-grounded instruction, so that those who at the time of their entrance at the school have learned scarcely any English would soon be able to acquire the skill needed if they should later come into such circumstances that it is necessary for them, for example, to preach in English or to come forward as writers in this language. And those who already have a rather good common school knowledge as well as practice and readiness to use the language would, with this instruction they receive here, be ready upon leaving school to use the language in speaking and writing almost immediately. We intend to have our eyes open for the necessary changeover from Norwegian to English which in time will take place among our countrymen, and we wish to be well prepared to join in this transition, which we know that no human power will be able to hinder. The more the English language becomes predominant among our people, the more we must be ready with preachers who can bring them the Word of God in this language. Therefore we have had, ever since the founding of our college, a teacher who had been a pastor for an English Lutheran congregation and was quite prepared to instruct in the English language, and since 1868 yet another instuctor, and have as much instruction in this language as seems necessary considering our circumstances, and as much as it is possible to find time for when it will not push aside the altogether necessary subjects or prolong the course. The first we naturally cannot do, especially when we consider that our students will find it difficult or impossible to learn so much of the more advanced subject matter at any other school. The latter, namely lengthening the course to seven years, we would gladly do for the sake of the other subjects if only the need of the present time would allow it.

Thus we have considered the plan of instruction for the so-called college or Latin School, and we must now go on to speak a little more about the attached normal school. This is, as has been previously described, affiliated with the three lower classes of the Latin School in such a way that the school's students will study all the subjects studied by these classes except Latin and Greek. This should bring them far enough in Norwegian so that they could understand the language grammatically and write it correctly. They will learn enough German so that with diligence they could prepare themselves well enough to understand the sacred Scriptures in the German language, which for a school teacher should be of the utmost importance. They will learn all the geography that is studied at this school, and they will get a short survey of the world's history and a more complete acquaintance with a particular part of it, especially the history of the United States. They will complete the study of natural science and arithmetic and learn some algebra. In English they will study with the Latin School classes the books which are used here and have in addition so many special hours of study that they are prepared to take over in an English common-school. In religion they also learn, in addition to what the Latin School classes learn, the Augsburg Confession and get it quite well in hand; in the same way they will have a popular Bible explanation covering a part of the New Testament. Finally they will receive instruction in the methods a school teacher should follow in his calling, and in the rules for catechization, and have, in addition, oral and written catechetical practice.

After this presentation of the plan for our school it can be understood that here there is sufficient work for the instructors. We must therefore be happy and thankful that we can provide our students with a proper theological training at the seminary in St. Louis, where there are moreover just at this time such older, experienced and highly gifted men, that it certainly would be our duty to make use of these rare gifts with which God has adorned His Church, even if our church group could supply space and a faculty sufficient here at our own college to provide the theological instruction.

We shall now show how the different subjects are divided in the individual classes, and take up the Latin School and the normal school separately. The Latin School's six classes are named Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, Quinta, and Sexta and are below designated by the Roman numerals I, II, etc. Prima (I) is the uppermost or highest class, Secunda (II) is the next highest, and so on until Sexta (VI), which is the lowest or beginning class. By the ordinal numbers in the table below is shown how many hours' instruction per week each class has in each subject.

The Latin School

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Explanation of the Catechism	2	2	3	3	2	2
Bible History					2	2
Latin	6	6	6	6	6	6
Greek	4	4	4	4		
Hebrew	4					
German	2	2	2	2	3	
English	2	2	3	3	3	4
Norwegian	2	2	2	2	2	4
Logic	1	1				
History	2	2	2	2		2
Geography					2	2
Science					3	
Mathematics		3	2	2	2	2
Chorus	2	2	2	2	2	2
Penmanship					1	2
Totals	27	26	26	26	28	28

Hours of Instruction Per Week

The Normal School

	3rd year	2nd year	1st year
Explanation of the Catechism	3	2	2
Bible History		2	2
Symbolical Books		2	2
Bible Explanation and Catechetics	4	2	2
German	2	3	
English	8	6	7
Norwegian	2	2	4
History	2		2
Geography		2	2
Science		3	
Mathematics	2	2	2
Chorus	2	2	2
Penmanship		1	2
Totals	25	29	29

Hours of Instruction Per Week

The instruction in English, mathematics, and logic, in all classes, geography, in the first year, and explanation of the Catechism in Prima and Secunda uses the English language as the medium of instruction. Otherwise the Norwegian language is used, with the exception of the New Testament in the upper classes, where in some of the Greek classes, it is translated from the Greek to the Latin and explained in Latin.

In several subjects, as has already been explained, two or more classes are combined, and usually this is the case with Prima and Secunda, together with the normal school students and the three lowest Latin School classes.

For the sake of a synopsis to add to the information given about our plan of instruction, we will submit a complete statement of what books and authors are read in the different subjects and how far we come in each.

In explanation of the Catechism: In the two lowest classes Pontoppidan's Explanation twice (either Truth Unto Godliness or selections with several appended Bible passages), in the middle classes Conrad Dietrich's Katechismusauslegung (Explanation of the Catechism), and in the upper classes Leonhard Hutter's Compend of Lutheran Theology.

In Bible history: in the two lowest classes the historical books of the Old Testament from the Bible itself.

In the symbolical books: in the normal school classes the Augsburg Confession, clarified and explained by the remaining parts of the Book of Concord.

In Bible explanation: in the normal school classes The Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul to the Romans and Galatians.

In catechetics and methods: in the normal school classes Rambach's Wohlunterrichteter Katechet (Well-Instructed Catechism) and Faye's Almueskolen (Common School) as well as especially in the third year, written and oral catechetical problems and exercises. Moreover, in some of the English classes in the third year, Theory and Practice of Teaching, lectures given in English.

In Latin: throughout the entire school Madvig's Grammar (next year Schreiner's will be introduced in the lowest class and later in the whole school), from Quarta to Prima Tischer's Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen ins Lateinische (Exercise Book for Translation into Latin), in the first half of the second year Christian Schmidt's Laesebog (Reader), thereafter for one year Cornelius Nepos, thereafter for one year Caesar De Bello Gallico, and thereafter Sallust's Catalina, some of Cicero's speeches, some also of his books De Senectute and De Amicitia, and finally some books from Livy; in Latin poetry we do not go beyond Siebelis' Tirocinium Poeticum.

In Greek: Curtius's Grammar translated by Voss, Schenkl's Laesebog (Reader), Schenkl's Chrestomathi by Xenophon, some books of Homer's Odyssey and portions of the New Testament.

In Hebrew: Seffer's Elementarbuch (Elementary Book) nearly or completely finished.

In German: Autenrieth's Grammar, Aalholm's Laesebog (Reader), later Woodbury's German Reader, and finally Schiller's Thirty Years' War or lesser selected writings of the best authors, such as Schiller's Wilhelm Tell and Wallenstein, Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea, etc.

In English: Greene's Grammar, Parker and Watson's National Third, Fourth and Fifth Readers, thereafter Shakespeare; in the normal school one more reader in addition, at the present time Saunders' Fourth.

In Norwegian: Løkke's Grammar, Jensen's Laesebog (Reader) for the "lowest and middle classes", Lassen's Laesebog (Reader) in poetry and prose for the higher classes.

(In Norwegian, English, and Latin are also used many written exercises, dictation, composition, and translation, as well as memorization of classical selections, and in all foreign languages oral translation from the Norwegian to these and some practice in speaking them.)

In logic: Whately's Elements.

In history: In Sexta, S. Petersen's Lille Verdenshistorie (Little World History), from Quarta to Prima, L. Daae's and S. Petersen's Laerebog i Verdenshistorien (Textbook in World History), and a shortened history of Norway, the history of Sweden and Denmark, in the normal school in the third year class, a United States history, in the English class.

In geography: In Sexta, Warren's Common School Geography, in Quinta, Geelmuyden's Geografi for

Mellemklasserne (Geography for the Intermediate Classes).

In natural science: Gray's Botany (in place of this next year a Norwegian text by Real. cand. Dietrichson will be introduced). In zoology, lectures are given without a text.

In mathematics: Davies' Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry.

In penmanship Spencer's system is used.

Correction

On page 457 it reads 4 hours of Bible explanation and Catechetics for the third year normal school class instead of 5 hours, and the weekly number of hours for this class should also be 26 instead of 25.

APPENDIX B

PROGRAM
FOR
AUGSBURG SEMINARY

As soon as the progress of the building, the strength of the teaching staff, and the attendance of students permit, Augsburg Seminary will be established in such a manner that, in addition to the theological seminary with a three-year course, it will in the future include 1) a five-year preparatory school for theological studies and 2) a five-year "realskole" (science department), which prepares for teacher training and the practical life, moreover, in such a way that the instruction for these two departments of the school will be in common, the first year in all subjects and later, as much as the material and the strength of the faculty permit.

The school will be composed of:

a) Common division (1 year)
b) Greek division (4 years)
c) Science division (4 years)
d) The theological course (3 years)

The teaching subjects are:

a. In the common division:

- Norwegian
- English
- History
- Geography
- Religion
- Arithmetic
- Penmanship

b. In the Greek division:

- Greek
- Norwegian
- English
- Latin
- German
- History
- Geography
- Religion

c. In the science division:

- Mathematics
- Norwegian
- English
- Old Norse
- History
- Geography
- Religion
- Science
- Bookkeeping
- American Constitution

d. In the theological course:

- Old Testament theology
- New Testament theology
- Church history
- Systematic theology
- Practical theology

Division of the Subjects by Classes:

__Common Year__.

	Hours
Number of Hours per Week	25.
Norwegian. Grammar, Reading and Dictation.	5
English. American textbook. Grammar.	5
History. World history.	5
Geography. Basic geography.	3
Religion. Pontoppidan's __Explanation__, Vogt's __Bible History__.	4
Arithmetic.	3

Penmanship is practiced in the Norwegian dictation.

1st Greek Year	25 hr.
Norwegian. Continued from common year. Written assignments.	5 "
English. Continued from common year. Dictation.	5 "
History. Continued from common year.	4 "
Geography. Contd. from common year and American geography.	3 "
Religion. Contd. from common year.	3 "
Greek. Textbook and grammar.	5 "

1st Science Year	25 hr.
Norwegian as in 1st Greek year.	5 "
English as in 1st Greek year.	5 "
History as in 1st Greek year.	4 "
Geography as in 1st Greek year.	3 "
Religion as in 1st Greek year.	3 "
Mathematics.	5 "

2nd Greek Year	25 hr.
Norwegian. Continuation. Composition.	4 "
English. Continuation. Composition.	4 "
History. Continuation and "the united states history"	4 "
Religion. Bible exegesis and Nissen's Church History	3 "
Greek. Xenophon and grammar.	5 "

2nd Science Year	25 hr.
Norwegian as in 2nd Greek year.	4 "
English as in 2nd Greek year.	4 "
History as in 2nd Greek year.	4 "
Religion. Church history as in 2nd Greek year.	2 "
Bookkeeping.	2 "
Mathematics.	4 "
Old Norse.	4 "
Geography. Physical geography.	1 "

3rd Greek Year	25 hr.
Norwegian. Norwegian literature. Composition.	3 "
English. English literature. Composition.	3 "
History. Continuation.	3 "
Religion. Continuation.	3 "
Greek. Josephus. New Testament.	5 "
Latin. Caesar. Grammar. Style.	5 "
German. Textbook. Grammar.	3 "

3rd Science Year	25 hr.
Norwegian as in 3rd Greek year and 2 hrs. laboratory	5 "
English as in 3d Gk. yr. and 2 hrs. laboratory	5 "
History as in 3d Gk. yr.	3 "
Religion. Church history as in 3d Gk. yr.	2 "
Old Norse. Cont.	3 "
Mathematics-theory(pure)	2 "
applied	2 "
Science.	2 "
Geography. Physical geography.	1 "

4th Greek Year	20 hr.
Norwegian. Continuation. History of literature.	2 hr.
English. Continuation. History of literature.	3 "
Religion. Continuation.	2 "
History. Review and Norwegian history.	2 "
Greek. Justinian. Dial. cum Tryphone. New Testament. N. T. grammar.	4 "
Latin. Latin Church fathers.	4 "
German. German literature. Composition.	3 "

4th Science Year	25 hr.
Norwegian. Literature and history of literature.	5 "
English. Literature and history of literature.	5 "
Religion as in 4th Gk. yr.	2 "
History as in 4th Gk. yr.	2 "
Old Norse. Continuation.	2 "
Mathematics-theory 2 hr.) applied 2 ")	4 "
Science.	2 "
Physical geography.	1 "
American Constitution.	2 "

THE THREE-YEAR THEOLOGICAL COURSE

Each year: Hebrew grammar and grammatical examination of Genesis and Exodus 1-20.
Professor Sverdrup.

Reading Plan for the Students:	Lecture Plan for the Professors:
For the beginners: Hebrew grammar and grammatical examination of Genesis and Exodus 1-20.	Each year: Hebrew grammar and grammatical examination of Genesis and Exodus 1-20 by Prof. Sverdrup.
1st Year	**1st Year**
Genesis. Exodus 1-20. Joshua.	Prof. Sverdrup. Bible History through Joshua. Mosaic conditions and culture.
The entire New Testament is read in the original. Exegesis of the Gospel of Mark.	Prof. Oftedal. Explanation of the Gospel of Mark.

The Acts of the Apostles. History of the Early Church.	Prof. Gunnersen. Explanation of the Acts of the Apostles. History of the Early Church.
The Pastoral Epistles, II John and III John. Epistle to Philemon.	Prof. Weenaas. Practical theological survey of the Pastoral Epistles, II John and III John and Philemon.
2nd Year	2nd Year
Judges, I and II Samuel, I and II Kings, the Prophet Jeremiah in the original.	Prof. Sverdrup. History of Israel from the Death of Joshua to the Birth of Christ. Explanation of the Prophet Jeremiah.
The Gospel of Luke. Letters to the Galatians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Romans.	Prof. Oftedal. Explanation of the Gospel of Luke, Galatians, Colossians, Ephesians, Romans
I and II Corinthians, I Peter, I Thessalonians, Philippians. Medieval Church History.	Prof. Gunnersen. Historical Survey of I and II Corinthians, Philippians, I Peter, I Thessalonians. Medieval Church History.
Dogmatics.	Prof. Weenaas. Dogmatics.
3rd Year	3rd Year
The Psalms. The Gospel of Matthew. The Letter to the Hebrews. James.	Prof. Sverdrup. The Psalms. Development of the Relationship between the O. T. and the N. T. through an Examination of the Gospel of Matthew, the Letter to the Hebrews, and James.

The Gospel of John. 1st Epistle of John.	Prof. Oftedal. Explanation of the Gospel of John and the 1st Epistle of John. New Testament criticism.
II Peter, Jude, II Thessalonians. Revelation. Modern Church History.	Prof. Gunnersen. Historical Survey of II Peter, Jude, II Thessalonians, Revelation. Modern Church History.
Dogmatics. Practical Theology.	Prof. Weenaas. Dogmatics and Practical Theology.

AUGSBURG SEMINARY'S
GREEK DIVISION

When we here set forth a program for Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis, as we should like to see the school developed, we find it necessary to premise some introductory remarks, that are chosen to present the basic thoughts and the practical considerations which such a plan for a school naturally brings forth. Thus we do not conceal from ourselves that it contains so great a departure from the traditional, that we could expect on the one hand a lukewarm reception, and on the other hand, misunderstanding of certain parts of the plan, and in any event, a sharp and thoroughgoing criticism. In order to direct the criticism in the right track, to guard against misunderstanding as much as possible, to procure an easier hearing and, lastly, so that the battle, if it must come, can be waged upon principles and not upon trifles, we shall try briefly and clearly to outline our point of view.

Our stand has already been taken concerning the peculiar position which the seminary has as an institution of higher learning among the Norwegians in America. It is our belief that our people here, plucked out of the conditions at home and placed in the middle of a cosmopolitan people that will obviously make the greatest influence upon the development of the world, have a field where they can and must strain all their faculties so that their institution with its special talents can make a lasting influence, and bear its proper fruit. We are guided by the thought that no element in the great blending of nationalities which is found here, should disappear without having had its influence, and it will thus be our duty and our seminary's duty to work so that the Norwegian element can hold its place in the American development and our people can discharge its duty and fulfill that responsibility which its position in America imposes upon it.

In order for this to come about, it is necessary, on the one hand, to work for, preserve and cherish everything of a cultural nature to be found in the Norwegian national heritage; so that Norwegian language, history, literature and thought become our students' personal possession; in other words, to make them into Norwegian men. On the other hand is the equally urgent necessity, that the Norwegians in America become truly at home here, with all the facilities to exercise the privileges which come to them here;--they must be in a complete sense American citizens, who could stand co-equal beside the native Americans, prepared to add their word on any subject, where it concerns the common weal.

Therefore it is required that the cultured Norwegian in America can express himself as freely in the language of America as in his own, and with knowledge of America's history and its institutions enter with full confidence into the practical life wherever his duty as a citizen requires. Thus it will be clear to all that it is completely necessary that our college lay exactly the same weight upon the two languages: Norwegian and English.

In addition to this essential requirement, which we consider properly can be done at each of the institutions of higher education among the Norwegians in America, may now be placed the particular requirements which make our seminary a school which trains pastors for Norwegian congregations. Our Greek division at the

Seminary is committed to giving our pupils that preparatory education which, in our opinion, is the best for those who would devote themselves to theological studies. It is from this point of view that we demand that the plan for the college here especially be considered. But we do not place such a separation between theology and life, that we think any single subject in the Greek division is useless for him who might wish to discontinue his studies with its conclusion or elect another course of study than theology.

In choosing the curriculum we are motivated by the idea that the students on the one hand must acquire a true general education and must, on the other hand, have adequate proficiency in those languages which are an indispensable prerequisite for their studies.

When we speak of education and the right means to attain it, we know that we are on such an extensive and disputed field that it is impossible with a few lines here to settle such a burning question; but we do not fear to express our sentiment. The real intellectual development, which consists in personal penetration of truth, so that it becomes the moving force in the heart to the determination of thought and will, speech and action, so that the evolution of history and the life of mankind are seen in its light; in other words, in that personal freedom which no school can be sure to impart to its pupils; for many never attain it, many gain it first in life's sober school of experience. But the means whereby the school would lead its pupils to attain it, is the presentation of truth itself--and of mankind's struggle to acquire it for himself and apply it in life--and at the same time, away from the wrong ways and false steps which are taken in its development.

The correct means of education, therefore, will be according to our fundamental view, religious education and history, and it is this view which has given these two subjects their pre-eminent position as much in the Greek division as in the science division. It is a necessary consequence that our pupils in the Greek division accrue to a high degree the benefit of this educational means, which lies in the language study in the five languages which are provided as teaching subjects; but we are far from regarding this means as the essential; for we can only acknowledge this means as a formal educating influence.

The choice of languages is therefore essentially decided by the practical regard for what is necessary for the theological study. Thus Greek holds such a predominant position, that we have had to reject the old familiar name Latin School and put Greek School in its place. We would also suggest with this that we look upon the Greek as the Old World's language of culture in a far grander and nobler sense than Latin; we look upon Greek as a channel for the freedom of the spirit and creative power of thought in contrast to Latin, which represents a tyrannical tendency and a disintegrating system. Finally, we believe that we have in the Greek grammar and in the Greek syntax a richer linguistic substance than in the Latin.

Parallel to Greek we give Latin and German a place because we consider a more penetrating study of Protestant theology impossible or at least more difficult without knowledge of these languages, and we believe in choosing these we have at one and the same time found what is necessary and sufficient.

We also intend to make our students acquainted with the spirit which permeates the Roman and German peoples, and when we add the two languages already referred to, Norwegian and English, then we are of the opinion that our students will become acquainted with the intellectual elements which at present are the most important in the world's development.

Likewise, also, the choice of languages is essentially determined on practical bases and therefore rests on great sweeping principles, because namely that which is most practical for theological study necessarily must be the most fundamental to the progress of the spiritual development; this is the case when the teaching follows the prescribed material. It aims at the practical objective of giving the students true reading knowledge in those languages which are the subject of the instruction. We intend to achieve this by making the students capable of reading an easy author with complete assurance. In Greek and Latin we have been limited to the prose language in order to make use of the time which can be saved to lead the students into an individual study of these languages' development which parallels the development of Christianity and is in part conditioned by it.

One will naturally object that this time could better be used in the study of classical authors, in order to enter into the classical spirit; but on the one hand we are of the opinion that the customary manner of reading a little here and a little there of Greek and Latin literature is usually a painfully fruitless affair; on the other hand, we have already seen that in principle we are not humanists; and when we place an extraordinarily great emphasis upon the Greek and Latin antiquity, because we see in it such an essential historical element, we believe that the study of its culture must be made a part of the teaching of history. By teaching languages purely as language we believe that we will gain greater results in respect to reading knowledge of a language than those who use the generally employed methods. At least we hope we can get so far that our students, upon completion of the Greek school, will be able to read the New Testament in the original with ease and confidence, and the advantage that this will be to them in their study of theology does not have to be pointed out. At the same time we do not hesitate to emphasize the great advantage the students have in their knowledge of the Latin language as it was formed under the influence of Christian thought.

It is a fundamental idea in our program to limit the number of subjects as much as possible and thereby to achieve the greatest possible thoroughness in the subjects offered. We maintain the conviction that students, upon completion of the Greek classes, provided that the instruction really is carried out in the indicated spirit, will be equipped with the most excellent qualifications for a scholarly theological study, and at the same time are in possession of all the knowledge which is necessary for a clear and sound outlook on life in whatever position they may be placed.

AUGSBURG SEMINARY'S THEOLOGICAL COURSE

(omitted)

AUGSBURG SEMINARY'S SCIENCE DIVISION

As surely as Augsburg Seminary shall become, as we with God's help hope to make it, an intellectual center for the Norwegians in America, then it would lack a necessary link in this its task, if it did not have its science division resting on the same Christian principles as the Seminary itself, and with this aim to educate capable liberal-minded, practical men on the same foundation.

We are here guided by the consideration that, while all too few will feel the call or aptitude for a minister's education, then our principles, carried abroad among our countrymen only by the ministers, in the first place convey the danger of religious compulsion--the very thing that we fight against--and in the second place reach only a comparatively very small part of the population. Our sacred task must necessarily concern everyone who does not yet consider it a shame to have Norwegian ancestry, who will not be ashamed to bring their national gifts to the great development of America. Our science division must therefore aim at supplementing what the Greek or theological education would lack with respect to the intellectual influence among our people. We must be able to come to the farmer, to the worker and to the businessman. And the subjects of instruction must be calculated to be a practical general education.

We must strive to bring everyone a free spiritual point of view in whatever position he is placed, we must educate school teachers, public officials and lawgivers; in short, we must be both a science division and a folk high school, in order to educate men to be true Christian-minded citizens.

Although the special position of citizens of a foreign origin both involves particular difficulties and occasions special considerations, as has been shown in the Greek division, the development here also can be grouped under those three great objectives, which must be the main ones for all education among all peoples: 1) a view of world history; 2) logical discernment, and 3) facility in language--everything resting upon Christianity's living foundation of truth.

In accordance with this the subjects will also be chosen and laid out:

1) In reality there is to be found only one true subject of instruction, history, of men and of mankind, and those associations, spiritual and physical, which this history entails. All that man can aspire to know is "to know himself", and he can only know himself by his own development and that of his own kind, enlightened by the intervention of revelation. A quick glance at our plan will soon note the prominent position which the teaching of history has been given. World history and, by preference, Norway's history and the history of the American States, the history of science and the development of the world, the history of literature and culture, as well in Norway as in America, and finally the history of the Church or Christianity's development, are the foundations which will develop our students' essential knowledge and prepare them to envision and appraise their own place within the great development in its individual phenomena, and from an independent point of view, correctly perceive their obligations within the community in a religious and civic sense.

2) There are, moreover, certain immovable natural laws, unalterable rules, by which Reason must classify all matter for comprehension, and this classification

therefore is inevitably necessary for each rational thought or development of ideas. It is what we call logic. It can, of course, be considered a subject for philosophy. But it will, even under the best conditions, be in danger of being influenced by personal presuppositions or judgments on the part of the teacher, and it has therefore always been deemed an educational axiom that the foundations of logic in their purest form are presented and stated best through mathematics. A more prolonged instruction in language and more thorough preparation for further philosophical study in the Greek division will compensate for this; but in the science division, it will be indispensable; the graduates of the science division shall be prepared by the clarity of logic to be able to attain the very important knowledge of history. Therefore mathematics appears in the science division as not only significant to lecture on in all the classes, but it in a measure carries the department and gives it its special character. In connection with this study there will be as a practical by-product, bookkeeping and, it is anticipated, surveying will constitute a special part.

3) It is, then, and principally under this country's free institutions, not only necessary to have the information and the ability to think logically, it is even

more necessary to be able to give one's ideas the clearest and most adequate form. It is, in other words, necessary to express one's thoughts with simplicity and clarity, both in speaking and in writing. This can be attained by a thorough study of languages.

From ancient times it (language study) has composed an essential and indispensable part of higher education. Likewise, pedagogy has established that knowledge of the ancient classical languages had to be included both for the sake of form and of derivation. We recognize the truth of this assertion. For us there is only the question: Which language should we choose so that we could serve our practical aim, and chiefly our founding principle: the grafting of the Norwegian element into the American development? In other words: Which classical language forms the foundation for Norwegian and English when these will be offered side by side throughout the whole school? We cannot be in doubt here for a minute. The Anglo-Saxon's sister language, Old Norse, with its richness in form, living syntax, and stylistic abundance and power has at the same time so much both of Greek and Latin derivation, and penetrates at the same time so deeply into the Norwegian character and the development of the English language, that involuntarily everyone acquainted with the matter will at once present himself as the most zealous guardian of this aim above all aims. With respect to the language education, we will give equal value to both Greek and Latin, and when the time utilized is taken into consideration, there will not be born a dead formalism or a glossary knowledge, but a living storehouse of roots, which will have the most beneficial influence on the personal style and originality, both in Norwegian and English. We have therefore ventured to advocate Old Norse as the classical basic language around which the instruction in Norwegian as well as in English revolves as the living nucleus. And we believe that in connection with this daily practice in both languages in reading and in lectures, in written exercises and in discussions, our students, after five years of instruction, will gain in independent mastery of the language.

That American literature is offered as an independent subject is only in natural harmony with our principal aim: that the emigrated Norwegians should be complete and true American citizens and will, it is to be hoped, make their contribution to the achievement of this goal.

Appendix

A theological division composed of seminarians and other older men who have the Call and gifts to offer themselves for the service of the Church will be offered as long as necessary. Here the language instruction will have to give way to the study of God's Word in translation for an indeterminate length of time, as long as the dire need for pastors and the shortage of preparatory schools make it necessary.

In addition it finally can be noted that, as soon as the administration finds suitable textbooks in the English language, these will be adopted throughout all of the Greek and science divisions.

Adopted at the faculty meeting September 1874.

APPENDIX C

Articles of Incorporation of the Norwegian Luther College of Decorah, Iowa

(As amended and adopted by the Luther College Corporation in 1917)

Article 1. We, the undersigned, Herman Amberg Preus, of Leeds, Wisconsin; Thore Peterson, of Calmar, Iowa; and Gulbrand T. Lommen, of Decorah, Iowa; do hereby form ourselves into a body corporate to be known as the Norwegian Luther College of Decorah, Iowa, and as such corporation to possess the privileges and exercise the powers provided by law.

Article 2. The purposes of this corporation are the establishment of a Collegiate Institution in the town of Decorah, of a religious and educational character, to provide suitable buildings and grounds therefor, engage teachers, provide libraries, apparatus and all other things necessary for the successful conduct of the same.

Article 3. The members of this association and corporation shall consist of the pastors of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran congregations connected with the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America and the representatives of said congregations at the regular triennial meeting of said Church, chosen in accordance with its discipline and usage.

Article 4. The officers of this corporation shall be a president, secretary, treasurer, and a Board of six Trustees to be chosen in such manner, time, and place as shall be specified by the By-Laws of the corporation. The president and the professors of the College shall together constitute a board or faculty with such powers as may be conferred upon them by the By-Laws. The corporation at all its meetings, annual and special, shall choose a chairman who shall hold the position during the session.

Article 5. The following named persons shall constitute the officers of this corporation for the first year of the existence and until their successors are elected, viz.: Rev. Herman Amberg Preus, president; Rev. V. Koren, secretary; Prof. Laur. Larsen, treasurer; Thore Peterson, Gulbrand T. Lommen, N. Brandt, Jens J.

Naeset, Tjerand Johnson, Rev. O. J. Hjort, trustees. Said election shall be held at the first meeting of the corporation held after the first day of January, A. D. 1866.

Article 6. The affairs of this corporation shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Trustees, subject to the By-Laws of this corporation defining the duties of the officers and prescribing their mode of procedure in transacting the business of the corporation.

Article 7. The private property of the members of this corporation shall be exempt from liability for the debts thereof.

Article 8. All conveyances of property of this corporation shall be taken in the name of the corporation as set forth in Article 1 hereof.

Article 9. Any of these articles may be amended and other articles added thereto at any meeting of the members of this corporation.

Article 10. The president and members of the Church Council of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America and their successors in those offices are hereby constituted a Board of Visitors for the College, and shall have such powers, including the right of visitation and calling of special meetings of the corporation, as may be conferred upon them by the By-Laws of the corporation.

By-Laws of the Norwegian Luther College of Decorah, Iowa

1. The Board of Trustees shall have, when not otherwise provided, the general management of the affairs of the corporation, keep the buildings and other property of the corporation in good repair, make all necessary improvements to the same, procure such libraries and apparatus as the board of professors may deem necessary for the successful conduct of the College. Provided, that in no event shall the Trustees be authorized to expend annually a greater sum than $1,000 (one thousand dollars) without first submitting the same to the annual meeting of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, for their approval. A majority of the said Board of Trustees shall constitute a

quorum for the transaction of business.

2. The president, secretary, treasurer, and Board of Trustees shall be elected triennially at such time and place as said Church shall hold its regular meeting. The regular meeting of this corporation will be held at the same time and place. And whenever a vacancy shall occur, the Board of Trustees shall have the power to fill such vacancy from among the members of the corporation. Notice of regular meetings of the corporation shall be announced by the president, by publication of the same in such newspapers as the Board of Trustees shall direct at least four weeks previous to the day of the meeting.

3. The judges of said election shall be three in number and shall be elected at the time from the members of the corporation. It shall be their duty to report at once the result of said election in writing under their hands to the president and secretary of the corporation.

4. The president, secretary, treasurer and Board of Trustees so elected shall hold their respective offices until their successors are elected and qualified. Before entering upon the duties of his office, the treasurer shall be required to execute a bond, in such sum as the Board of Trustees may require. The president shall have the general supervision of the affairs of the College, shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Trustees and board of professors, and in cases of an equal division at these meetings shall have, in addition to his vote as a member, the deciding vote, and shall sign all contracts and orders on the treasurer for the payment of money; in case of his absence or disability, these last duties shall devolve upon a president pro tem. to be chosen from their number by the Board of Trustees. He may call meetings of the Board of Trustees or board of professors when he shall deem it necessary--and shall do so when requested by three members of the board of which a meeting is desired.

5. The number of the professors for the College, their respective duties and compensation, shall be fixed by the Board of Visitors, in accordance with the resolutions made by the Norwegian Lutheran Church

of America, and the appointment and removal of such professors shall be made in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed by said Church..

6. The professors of the College shall constitute a board with power to admit students to the College and expel them therefrom for improper conduct and to make and enforce such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with those made by the corporation or by the Board of Visitors as they may consider necessary for the good government and discipline of the College.

7. It is hereby made the duty of the Board of Visitors to make rules prescribing the terms of admission into the College, the amount of preparatory knowledge and other qualifications required for admission, and make such other rules and regulations as they may deem best for the guidance of the board of professors in maintaining the good government and discipline of the College.

8. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to make an annual report of the financial condition of the College to the corporation at its annual meeting--and if no annual meeting shall be held in any year, then such report shall be made at that time to the Board of Visitors.

9. The secretary shall attend and keep a record of the proceedings of all meetings of the Board of Trustees and of the corporation; shall keep a record of all elections of officers, keep a correct account of all the business transactions of the corporation, in books to be provided for that purpose, and attend to the correspondence of the corporation; his books and papers shall be always open for inspection by any member of the Board of Trustees or Board of Visitors.

10. The treasurer shall receive and keep all moneys belonging to the corporation and shall disburse the same only on the written order of the president. He shall keep full and correct accounts of all moneys and property by him received and disbursed on account of this corporation, and shall render a statement of the same annually to the Board of Trustees and to the annual meeting of the corporation, and at such other

times as he may be called upon therefor by the Board of Trustees and Board of Visitors, or either of them. The books of the treasurer and his vouchers, shall be always open for inspection by any member of the Board of Trustees or Board of Visitors.

11. The members of the Board of Visitors shall individually and collectively have the right of visitation to the College at any and all times. And it is hereby made the duty of all the officers of this corporation, as also all the professors and teachers, to exhibit to them, when required, all the books and records of the College and corporation and give them every facility for acquiring a knowledge of the condition of the institution. And it is hereby made the duty of the said Board of Visitors to report to each annual meeting of the corporation the result of their examination into the affairs of the College, and any defects observed by them in the management of the same, financial or otherwise, and make such suggestions as they may deem best adapted to remedy such defects.

12. Whenever a two-thirds majority of the Board of Visitors shall decide that the interests of the College require that a special meeting of the corporation be held, it shall be the duty of the president of the Board of Visitors to call such a meeting. Four weeks' notice of any meeting so called shall be given by publishing the same in some newspaper to be designated by the Board of Visitors and by mailing a copy of such notice through the post office to each pastor of a congregation who is a member of this corporation, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the pastors so notified, to cause lay-members of their congregations to be elected in accordance with the discipline and usages of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Said notice shall name the time, place and object of the meeting; and unless two-thirds of the said pastors and a like number of lay delegates representing congregations be in attendance upon the meeting so called, no other business than that named in the notice shall be transacted. ("Den Norsk Lutherske Kirke i Amerikas Beretning," 1917, 553-555. For the original articles of incorporation and by-laws, see "Synodalhaandbog," 1901, 23-34.)

APPENDIX D

Articles of Incorporation of Augsburg Seminary

(As amended at a meeting of the Board
of Trustees and the original incorporators,
June 12, 1892)

Article I. The name of this Corporation shall be Augsburg Seminary. Its general purpose and plan of operation shall be the training and education of young men in the ministry of the Lutheran Church of the United States of America, by the establishing and maintaining of a Theological Seminary at Minneapolis, which shall include a preparatory school substantially as heretofore maintained.

The location and place of business of this Corporation shall be the City of Minneapolis, Hennepin County, State of Minnesota.

Article II. Any person, who is a member, in good standing, of a Norwegian Lutheran Church, connected with the United Lutheran Church of America, may become a member of this Corporation by being elected as such member by a majority vote of the then members of the Corporation, and by his acceptance in writing of such election, provided that as soon as, and whenever the members of this Corporation equal or exceed thirty (30) in number, a two thirds (2/3) vote of such members shall be necessary in order to elect new members.

In case of death, incapacity to act, or permanent removal from the United States of America, of any member of this Corporation, his membership shall thereupon cease and terminate, and a new member shall be elected in his place.

For good and sufficient reasons the members of this Corporation, may by a two thirds (2/3) vote, at any time remove any member, and terminate his membership in the Corporation, and elect a new member in his place.

Article III. There shall be no capital stock of this Corporation, and no contributions shall be required of its members as a condition of membership.

Article IV. The officers of this Corporation shall be a Board of Trustees consisting of five (5) persons, who shall be elected by the members of this Corporation at their annual meeting, which is hereinafter provided for, a President, who shall be a member of the Board of Trustees, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, which two last named officers may, in the descretion of the Trustees, be members of this Corporation or not. And said last two offices to-wit: those of Secretary and Treasurer may, in the discretion of the Trustees, be filled by one person. The Trustees shall hold office for five (5) years, and until their successors are elected and qualified, (except as to the first Board of Trustees, who shall hold their office as hereinafter provided) and one (1) Trustee shall be elected each year.

Article V. The annual meeting of the members of this Corporation shall be held in the month of June in each year, at such time and place as may be designated by the Board of Trustees, or by its President, or in case of a failure to so designate, at the Seminary in said City of Minneapolis, on the fourth Tuesday of June in each year, at two (2) o'clock in the afternoon. At such meeting the members of the Corporation shall vote for Trustees of said Corporation, either in person or by written ballot deposited with the Secretary prior to such meeting.

The Trustees shall meet and organize on the second Tuesday of July of each year, and shall at such meeting elect a President, Secretary, and Treasurer for the ensuing year.

The President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall hold office for one (1) year, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

In case of death, resignation or inability to act of any officer during his term of office, the Board of Trustees may fill the vacancy thus occasioned until their next ensuing annual meeting.

After the adoption of these amendments the Trustees of this Corporation shall be: O. Nelson, Th. Helgesen, H. Engemoen, Sven Oftedal, and O. Paulson, of whom O. Nelson shall hold office until the annual election in June 1893, Th. Helgesen shall hold office until the annual election in June 1894, H. Engemoen shall hold office until the annual election in June 1895, Sven Oftedal until the annual election in June 1896, and O. Paulson shall hold office until the annual election in June 1897. And until the annual election in June 1893 Sven Oftedal shall be President, and H. Engemoen shall be the Secretary, and L. Swenson shall be Treasurer of this Corporation and said Board of Trustees. (Andreas Helland, Augsburg Seminar Gjennem Femti Aar, pp. 472-473.)

APPENDIX E

Articles of Incorporation of St. Olaf College

This certifies that we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of establishing an institution of learning, in the village of Northfield, Rice County, Minnesota, under the name and style of "St. Olaf College" in its corporate capacity.

The general purpose of the corporation is for the advancement in education of pupils from fifteen years of age and upwards, as a college, preserve the pupils in the true Christian faith, as taught by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and nothing taught in contravention with Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicenum, and Athanasianum; the Unaltered Confession, delivered to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, at Augsburg in Germany, in the year of our Lord 1530; and the Small Catechism of Luther.

There are no terms of admission to membership, or contribution required of its members, except such as may be hereafter adopted by the Board of Trustees.

There is no capital stock appertaining to said corporation.

The officers of the corporation during the first year of its existence are as follows: B. J. Muus, of Wanamingo, Goodhue county, President; Harold Thorson of Northfield, Rice County, Secretary; O. K. Finseth, of Holden, Goodhue county, K. P. Hougen of Holden, Goodhue county, and Osmund Osmundson, of Wheeling, Rice county, Trustees.

And there shall be an annual election of the officers of the corporation, held at their institution in the village of Northfield, on the third Thursday in June of each year, who shall have power to sue and be sued under their corporate name, to have a common seal, and establish by-laws, rules, and regulations, deemed expedient, in accordance with law, and not incompatible with an honest purpose.

All deeds, or conveyances, of real estate, or interest therein, for the benefit of said institution and conveyed by them, shall be executed by the President of the Board of Trustees and the Secretary.

Witness our hands and seals this sixth day of November A. D., 1874.

B. J. MUUS (Seal)
HAROLD THORSON (Seal)
K. P. HAUGEN (Seal)
O. OSMUNDSON (Seal)
O. K. FINSETH (Seal)

APPENDIX F

Brief Histories of Norwegian Lutheran Colleges

Augsburg College

Augsburg was begun as a seminary in 1860, at Marshall, Wisconsin. It was the first theological school founded by Norwegian Lutherans in America. Through an arrangement with a private institution known as Marshall Academy the Seminary was at first housed in the academy building. Students who needed further preparation in academic subjects were to obtain this in the academy. This arrangement failed to work out satisfactorily; so the seminary moved to a private dwelling, where classes continued until 1872. In the autumn of that year Augsburg Seminary was removed to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where a building had been erected for its use. In the same year the school was incorporated under the laws of Minnesota. The aim of the institution was to train ministers for the Lutheran congregations which were being organized in growing numbers in the pioneer settlements that were spreading rapidly over the Northwest.

The college was established when it became evident that in order to get students who were adequately prepared for theological study a college department was needed. In 1874 a college curriculum was planned which provided for one year of preparatory studies and four years of college work along two lines, a classical course to prepare students for theology, and a scientific course to prepare for other professions. The latter course, however, was later discontinued. The first college students were enrolled in 1874 and the first class was graduated in 1879.

In 1900 a high school course covering three years was established which in 1910 was expanded to a standard four-year course. This was discontinued in 1933. In the years 1916-1919 the college course was thoroughly revised. As a result of this and of subsequent growth, the earlier classical course was greatly modified and supplemented by social and scientific studies and a more general emphasis upon the study of the humanities. In recent years there has been continuous study and modification of the curriculum including the introduction of a number of new majors to meet the developing needs of the students. The Divisional organization was adopted in 1945. At the present time twenty-two majors are offered.

Coeducation was introduced in the College in 1921.

Recent years, especially since the close of World War II, have witnessed a greatly increased enrollment and a corresponding expansion of physical facilities both in campus area and in buildings.

In the Theological Seminary there has likewise been a continuing revision of the curriculum and the addition of new courses to meet changing needs. The requirement of a six-month period of internship was added in 1939. A bachelor's degree or equivalent is the required scholastic preparation for admission. While the Theological Seminary has its own organization, the Seminary and the College continue to function in close cooperation and as integral parts of one institution.

Five presidents have served Augsburg during the course of its history.

August Weenaas	1869-1876
Georg Sverdrup	1876-1907
Sven Oftedal	1907-1911
George Sverdrup	1911-1937
H. N. Hendrickson (Acting)	1937-1938
Bernhard Christensen	1938-Present

Augustana College

Augustana will celebrate its Centennial Anniversary in 1960. It is a union of two schools, Augustana College of Canton, South Dakota, and the Lutheran Normal School of Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

The first of the pioneer institutions, known as Augustana College and Theological Seminary, was founded in 1860. It began its work in Chicago in the humble quarters of an old church. After three years, it was located at Paxton, Illinois.

Following the westward trek of immigration, Augustana was moved to Marshall, Wisconsin, in 1869; to Beloit, Iowa, in 1881; and to Canton, South Dakota, in 1884. It was moved to Sioux Falls in 1918. The Lutheran Normal School, founded in 1889, remained in continuous operation on the present campus up to 1918.

The new liberal arts college created by the merger was located at the present campus in Sioux Falls in 1918 as Augustana College and Normal School, later changed to Augustana College.

Thus, Augustana is both young and old. As an educational institution it is rooted in the early life of the Midwest. As a four-year liberal arts college, it dates back to the merger of 1918.

The immediate management and control of the college is vested in the Augustana College Association. The Association is composed of the membership of the South Dakota District and adjoining portions of the Southern Minnesota and the South Central Districts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Association is incorporated under the laws of South Dakota. It functions through a board of directors of eighteen members.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church has consistently provided a large portion of the operating expense thr through productive endowments and annual appropriations. While the student body is largely a Lutheran group, students of other faiths are welcome.

Concordia College

Concordia College came into being April 4, 1891, under the auspices of the Northwestern Lutheran College Association, which was made up of some Lutheran people in the Red River Valley. The college is about as old as it is possible for an institution to be in this area, as the Red River Valley was not settled until the 70's and 80's, and large sections of western North Dakota and Montana were not occupied until after the turn of the century.

The college was organized for the purpose of giving instruction to the sons and daughters of the pioneers and the large number of immigrant young people. It fulfilled the mission of what was then called an academy. The need for such an institution was demonstrated by the enrollment, which went over the four hundred mark in a few years.

The gradual transition from a pioneer to an established society demonstrated the necessity of adding regular liberal arts courses on the college level. In 1913 a complete college department was organized and the first baccalaureate degrees were granted in 1917. The academy section of the institution was disbanded in 1927.

Park Region College of Fergus Falls, which gave its first baccalaureate degrees in 1912, was amalgamated with Concordia in 1917.

The corporate character of Concordia College has undergone some changes through the years, but it has always maintained a definite relationship with the Evangelical Lutheran congregations of the Upper Plains area. Today the college is owned and operated by the congregations of Northern Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana east of the Continental Divide. These congregations, through their circuit organizations, send delegates to an annual corporate meeting in October of each year where the officers and directors of the college are elected and other decisions pertinent to the welfare of the college are made.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church supervises the college through its Board of Education and grants a yearly appropriation for its support.

Luther College

After discussions extending over several years, the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America decided in 1857 to found a college and began to gather subscriptions for a building fund. In the same year it also decided that, until such time as suitable buildings should be erected, students should be sent to Concordia College and Seminary in St. Louis, and that a Norwegian professorship should be established there. The first eight students went to St. Louis in 1858. The Norwegian professorship was not filled until the following year. Then the Rev. Laur. Larsen was appointed, entering officially upon his duties October 14, 1859. Hence October 14 has been regularly observed as Founders' Day by the College.

With the outbreak of the Civil War disorders arose in St. Louis, Concordia College and Seminary closed in April and Professor Larsen and students returned home. At its meeting in June, 1861, the Church decided to proceed at once to establish its own college. In August, although a building in Decorah had been rented and partially renovated, college authorities decided to make use of a newly-erected vacant parsonage at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin, about thirteen miles north of La Crosse. There the school opened September 1, 1861, with two teachers, Laur. Larsen and F. A. Schmidt, who also served as pastors for the immigrants then living in the area. The enrollment for the year was sixteen. In the summer of 1862 the school was transferred to Decorah, its first house being the building, still standing, at the northwest corner of Winnebago and Main streets. The first building on the college campus was the first "Main", which was dedicated October 14, 1865. The present Main building is the third "Main" to stand on the same site, the two preceding having been destroyed by fire. Although there was a freshman class in 1861, dropouts because of the Civil War, illness, and other causes left none to graduate; therefore the first graduating class was that of 1866.

The founders of the College established a strong classical curriculum. In the course of time this was modified until in 1931 the present liberal arts curriculum in harmony with modern needs was established.

For seventy-five years Luther College admitted men only, although from 1932 to 1936 instruction was furnished to women enrolled in the Decorah College for Women, which had been founded in 1932. In 1936 the College became coeducational. Since that date the number of women enrolled has steadily increased so that they now comprise almost one half of the student body.

Luther College has been served by five presidents:

Laur. Larsen	1861-1902
C. K. Preus, '73	1902-1921
Oscar L. Olson, '93	1921-1932
O. J. H. Preus, '01	1932-1948
J. W. Ylvisaker, '21	1948-Present

Pacific Lutheran University

Men of vision and faith came from the midwest in 1890 to establish Pacific Lutheran University. These Lutheran church leaders envisioned an institution which would serve church and state when they began construction of the huge, six-story building called Old Main. The Rev. Bjug Harstad was the founder and first president.

Located in the community of Parkland, a suburb of Tacoma, Washington, the school opened as an Academy on October 14, 1894. But the vision of its founders was not to be denied. The institution became a junior college in 1921, a three-year normal school in 1931, a college of education in 1939, a college of liberal arts in 1941, and a university in 1960.

Pacific Lutheran University is the only degree-granting undergraduate school of the Lutheran church west of the Rocky Mountains. Two Lutheran schools--Columbia Lutheran College of Everett and Spokane College--merged with Pacific Lutheran several decades ago.

The institution has had its greatest growth in the period since 1945 with rapid and extensive expansion of its curriculum, faculty, physical plant, enrollment, and the assumption of university status this year.

St. Olaf College

St. Olaf College was founded in the year 1874 through the efforts of the Reverend Bernt Julius Muus, pioneer Goodhue county pastor, and other pastors and businessmen in Rice, Dakota and Goodhue counties in Minnesota. Impressed with the inadequacy of the rural school system and the scarcity of accessible secondary schools, Pastor Muus conceived the idea of founding an academy of higher learning under Christian auspices, which might meet the needs of the young people of the Lutheran Church. Funds for the purchase of a temporary building, as well as for the erection of a permanent structure, were gathered in the congregations of Pastors Muus and Quammen, and among the citizens of Northfield.

From 1874 to 1886 St. Olaf's School, as it was then called, was continued as an academy. In the latter year a college department was added, which graduated its first class in 1890. In 1917 the academy department was discontinued.

From the origin to the present time, the College has been affiliated with or operated by the various bodies which now constitute the Evangelical Lutheran Church. As one of the senior colleges of this body, St. Olaf is under the control of its general convention and its Board of Education, although it is organized as a separate corporation.

In 1900 the college department of the United Church Seminary was consolidated with St. Olaf. As a result of the church merger in 1917 the college department of Red Wing Seminary was by action of the Church merged with St. Olaf.

Since its organization in 1874 the College has had five presidents: The Reverend Th. N. Mohn, who was first the Principal of St. Olaf's School and then the President of St. Olaf College until 1899; Dr. John N. Kildahl, 1899-1914; Dr. Lauritz A. Vigness, 1914-1918; Dr. L. W. Boe, 1918-1942; and Dr. Clemens M. Granskou, who has served from 1943 to the present.

VITA

Einar Oscar Johnson was born at Evansville, Minnesota, on July 5, 1913, the son of the late Anders G. Johnson and of Anne B. Johnson. He attended high school at Ashby, Minnesota, and was graduated from Goodridge, Minnesota, High School in June, 1930. After attending Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, for two years, September, 1930, to June, 1932, he entered Moorhead State Teachers College and earned an upper grade teaching certificate in June, 1933. Mr. Johnson taught for four years in the Douglas County, Minnesota, public schools before returning to Concordia College, from which institution he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1938. After teaching at Colfax, North Dakota, for two years, he went to Seattle, where he was employed at the Boeing Airplane Company through the war years. In 1950 Mr. Johnson received the Master of Arts degree at the University of Washington in the field of English. The thesis for the M. A. degree was entitled, "The Intellectual Life of Modern America, a Translation of Knut Hamsun's Fra Det Moderne Amerikas Aandsliv".

The year 1950-1951 was devoted to further study of Hamsun and comparative literature on a Fulbright grant at the University of Oslo, Norway. After returning from Norway Mr. Johnson re-enrolled at the University of Washington and continued his studies in the College of Education, where he also served as Teaching Assistant and Research Assistant. In 1954 he accepted a position as Dean of Men at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. Following two years in this position he went to Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota, as assistant professor of education. A Faculty Fellowship awarded by the National Lutheran Educational Conference in 1959-1960 enabled him to undertake additional research.

Mr. Johnson is at present associate professor and chairman of the Department of Education at Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota.